

Other Books by Ruth Strang

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER IN PERSONNEL WORK.
New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935. Revised
edition, 1946.

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT AND GUIDANCE IN COLLEGE
AND SECONDARY SCHOOL.
New York: Harper & Brothers, 1934.

BEHAVIOR AND BACKGROUND OF STUDENTS IN COLLEGE
AND SECONDARY SCHOOL.
New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937.

AN INTRODUCTION TO CHILD STUDY.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938.

PROBLEMS IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF READING IN HIGH
SCHOOL AND COLLEGE.
Lancaster, Pa.: The Science Press, 1938. Revised edition, 1940.

PUPIL PERSONNEL AND GUIDANCE.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940.

GROUP ACTIVITIES IN COLLEGE AND SECONDARY SCHOOL.
New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941. Revised edition, 1946.

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER IN HEALTH EDUCATION
(with Dean F. Smiley). New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941.

EXPLORATION IN READING PATTERNS.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND GUIDANCE IN RURAL SCHOOLS
(with Latham Hatcher). New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943.

GATEWAYS TO READABLE BOOKS.
(with Alice Checkovitz, Christine Gilbert, Margaret Scuggin). New
York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1944.

EDUCATIONAL GUIDANCE: ITS PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947.

Counseling Technics in College and Secondary School

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COUNSELING TECHNIQS IN COLLEGE AND
SECONDARY SCHOOL—*Revised Edition*

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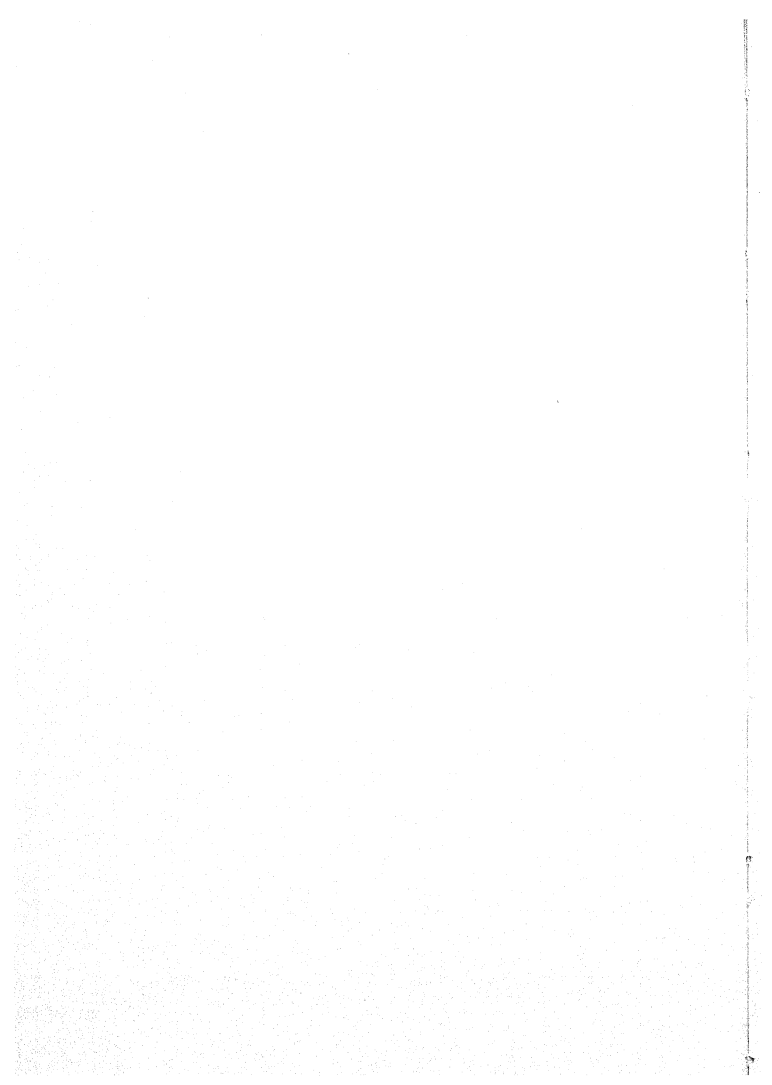
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P R E F A C E T O R E V I S E D E D I T I O N

Since *Counseling Technics in College and Secondary School* was first published in 1937, many new developments have taken place. The focus of interviewing has changed; projective technics have become prominent; and emphasis has shifted from appraisal to understanding. This revised edition has been greatly expanded to include these new developments.

In using the first edition with classes in counseling technics, the author has become aware of a need for more concrete illustrative material and more reference to the value of the technics. Accordingly, a larger number of examples of the technics have been included and many references given to detailed case studies, interviews, personal documents, and records of observation in published sources. For those interested in the more technical aspects of the technics, an attempt has been made to clarify the meaning of the terms *reliability* and *validity* and to review research relating to the reliability and validity of each technic.

This volume can be used most successfully as a background for practice. In courses for the preparation of teachers and counselors, students can read the book carefully to get basic information and sources of supplementary reading about each technic. This frees the class time for discussions, dramatizations, role playing, interpretation of records and personal documents, and other activities that help students to improve their use of each technic. This design of instruction has been carried out in the author's classes and the principles developed in this book illustrated and made concrete by Dr. Frances M. Wilson in a brilliant series of demonstrations. Similarly for faculty meetings, institutes, workshops, and other in-service study groups, the book supplies a systematic understanding of each technic that can be illumined by concrete illustrations. Thus theory is fused with practice.

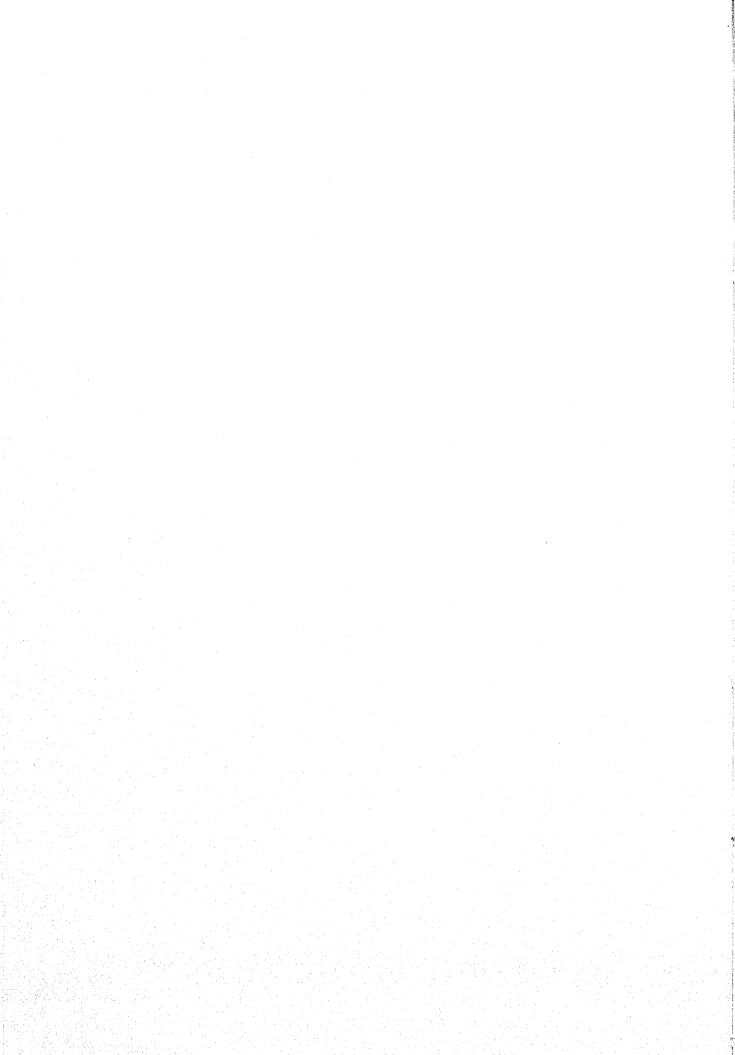
The assumption underlying this volume is that counseling technics can be taught. Any counselor, qualified by personality, can improve his methods of work with individuals. He can recall how he felt when taking tests, being interviewed, being rated, and looking over his own cumulative record or case study. He can acquire knowledge about each technic through reading—that is the value of this volume. Finally, he

can practice using each technic and then evaluate his method. This he can do without becoming "technic conscious," if he directs his attention exclusively to the individual during the counseling process and does his critical evaluation before and after the personal contact. The danger of focusing attention on technics is minimized by the emphasis throughout the book on the supreme importance of the counselor's personal qualifications—his genuine respect for people, his positive, constructive attitude toward them, his freedom from the need to dominate others, his faith in the ability of persons to help themselves—; his relationship with the counselee; and the intelligent and flexible use of technics.

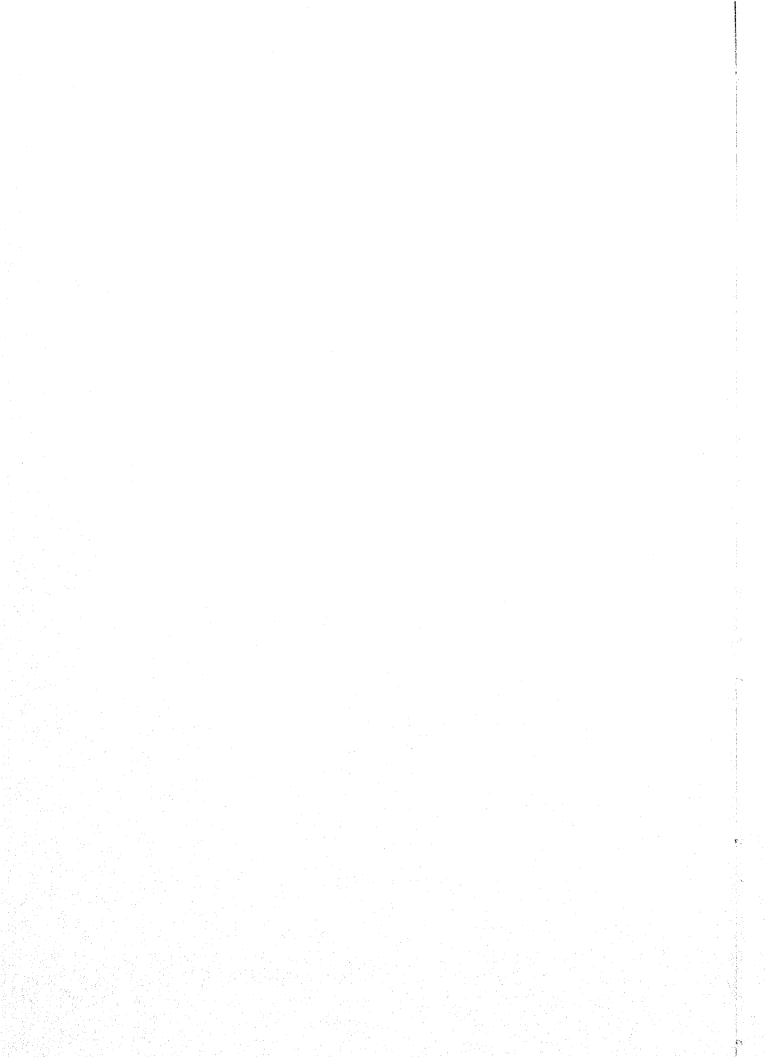
In any review of the literature such as this, the writer is especially indebted to the hundreds of authors and research workers who have contributed to our knowledge of counseling and its methods and technics, and to the publishers who have generously permitted the use of direct quotations. Grateful acknowledgement is made to the following publishers and other persons for permission to quote from their publications: American Council on Education; American Journal of Orthopsychiatry; American Journal of Psychiatry; American Journal of Sociology; American Psychological Association, Inc.; American Psychologist; Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.; Archives of Psychology; The Atlantic Monthly Press; Beacon House, Inc.; British Journal of Educational Psychology; Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University; Child Development; Columbia University Press; Educational and Psychological Measurement; Elementary English; Genetic Psychology Monographs; Grune and Stratton, Inc.; Harper & Brothers; The Harvard Educational Review; Harvard University Press; Houghton Mifflin Company; Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology; Journal of Applied Psychology; Journal of Consulting Psychology; The Journal Press; Journal of Educational Psychology; The Macmillan Company; McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.; National Travelers Aid Association; W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.; Occupations; Oxford University Press; Personnel Journal; Progressive Education; Psychological Bulletin; Psychodrama Monograph; Paul R. Reynolds & Son; Rinehart & Company, Incorporated; Smith College School for Social Work; Social Science Research Council; Sociatry; Sociometry; Society for Research in Child Development; Survey Associates; Survey Midmonthly; Jessie Taft; Teachers College Record; The University of Chicago Press; The University of North Carolina Press; Warwick & York, Incorporated; and The Year Book Publishers, Inc. After each quotation is the number of the reference, given in full in the bibliography, and the page on which the quotation occurs. To students in the course on counseling technics at Teachers College, the

author expresses appreciation for a clearer idea of the need for information in the field, for illustrations and applications of the various technics, and for help in determining the content that would be most useful for personnel workers. Reference to persons contributing anecdotes, case studies, and other personal data are omitted to avoid identifying any school, teacher, or pupil. The work on the volume was facilitated by Mr. James Hayford and by Mrs. Debora Pansegrouw, who critically read the manuscript and carefully checked all the references and quotations.

R. S.



Counseling Technics in College and Secondary School



CHAPTER I

Orientation to Counseling Technics

The counselor is like a gardener who prepares the soil and does everything he can to help each plant grow in its own best way. Many elements are involved in counseling. The counselor, observing and alert, recognizes these elements and uses them wisely and flexibly. He does not merely piece together facts obtained by means of different technics, but tries to fuse them into a unified pattern. The use of counseling technics is a dynamic process of understanding a person. In this process each technic plays a part. The clearer understanding the counselor has, the better he can help the individual to understand himself.

The Past, Present, and Future

Time present and time past
Are both perhaps present in time future,
And time future contained in time past (18:3).*

There is the past, pressing against the portals of the present. Much or all of this past influences the individual's present behavior, whether or not he is conscious of it. Counseling helps him to deal with the past consciously and in a rational way. When unconscious forces control his behavior, deeper psychotherapy is needed.

The present, too, with its limitations, relationships, and demands, enters into the counseling process. Counseling is always in a setting. Its success depends a great deal on the role the counselor is expected to play, the time and privacy provided for his work, the preparation of

* Throughout this book, the first number in the parentheses refers to a certain book or article in the bibliography for that chapter. The number following the colon gives the page or pages in the reference on which the idea or quotation occurs. Thus, in this instance, 18 refers to T. S. Eliot's book listed on page 250 of the bibliography; 3, refers to the page on which the three lines of quotation occurs.

students and staff for counseling services. The process of counseling is hindered by administrators who do not have the personnel point of view, who insist that all students conform to rigid and unsuitable regulations, standards, and objectives. The successful counselor does all he can to create an environment favorable to student development, an atmosphere of students achieving their best potentialities.

The future also is a factor. The individual's goals and purposes give him a sense of direction, and thus influence his present thinking, feeling, and acting. If students, as a group or individually, have set up definite goals for themselves, the counselor can take a positive approach. He can focus attention not on problems, but on goals and on the progress the student has made in attaining them.

The Counselee

The person being counseled—the counselee—is, of course, the center of the counseling process. To him the counselor is constantly sensitive. Basic to successful counseling is an understanding of the counselee's concept of himself, his readiness for action, his inner conflicts and suppressed desires, his unwarranted feelings of guilt, his inner springs of conduct—why he behaves as he does. His physical condition and his concept of the counselor's role also are important elements.

The counselee is seeking self-realization, self-actualization; he is hoping to make his life more complete and satisfying. He has the capacity within himself to do this. Confucius embodied this principle in the saying: "Remember that thou art man and frail and likely to fall . . . but if thou fall, remember thou art man and have it within thyself to get up."

Each person works out his salvation in his own unique way. This is because the conditions giving rise to any given kind of development are infinitely complex. Hereditary nervous instability, mental retardation, disease and other physical conditions, family pressures, cultural and racial background, the influence of friends, "the neurotic personality of our times," and various inner conflicts may all be involved in any individual's adjustment. His previous experience with counselors and his psychological sophistication also may influence his readiness for or resistance to counseling. None of these factors acts singly.

Even symptoms serve a purpose. They indicate the existence of a problem and show how the person is attempting to solve it. They frequently act as a safety valve; they sometimes prevent something worse from happening.

The Counselor

The counselor himself is the next most important element in the situation: his own personality and adjustment, his constantly more adequate

understanding of the counselee, his feelings about him, and his skill in freeing the resources for growth within the person seeking help.

THE COUNSELOR AS A PERSON

The counselor is first of all a "real person." If he has learned to live with himself and accept himself, he is more likely to accept other persons. If he is emotionally mature and feels fairly secure in his social and professional relations, he is able to convey a certain sense of confidence to the counselee. If he has faced conflicts in his own life and worked through them, he is better able to help a less mature or less experienced person.

The counselor's "heart is in the right place." In other words, he has genuinely kind feelings toward people. He understands, respects, and accepts them. Like Walt Whitman, he has a deep sense of the worthiness of all human beings. He looks for the good in them and expects the best of them. He is more concerned with their success than with his own success as a counselor.

With such fundamental respect for people, the counselor naturally will not force his ideas on the counselee nor insist that he conform at once to his standards, values, or mores. He recognizes differences between his own cultural background and that of the counselee. For example, certain parents' ideas about what parents should do or be may be different from the counselor's. The counselor will "acknowledge the validity of another's way of life." He will encourage the counselee to express his thoughts and feelings freely and to take all possible initiative and responsibility for his own growth. Too frequently counselors are more concerned with maintaining school and college standards than in helping the student to make the most of himself. Even though the counselor may be primarily concerned with the student, a conflict, difficult to resolve, sometimes arises between what is best for the individual and what is best for the group.

During the interview the counselor encourages the counselee to think through his problems and to develop his self-concept. He listens as though nothing else in the world were more important to him. This in-tentness is necessary if he is really to understand another person. He tries to see the counselee in three ways: as he sees himself, as he really is, and as he can become.

THE COUNSELOR'S PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION

Much of the knowledge and skill which the student expects of the counselor can be gained only through personal contacts. With every case, the counselor learns more about himself and about the psychology of personality, adjustment, and motivation. Thus counseling has perpetual personal and professional value for the counselor.

4 Counseling Technics in College and Secondary School

The counselor also learns through study in the fields of sociology, anthropology, and the broad field of psychology. Through these studies the counselor learns about personality structure, about sequences of behavior and patterns of experience that repeatedly give rise to certain kinds of behavior.

Few would disagree that it is advantageous for the counselor to have a background knowledge of the following kinds:

1. Knowledge of the individual student with whom he is working—his physical condition, mental capacity and achievement, special interests and abilities; the attitudes of others toward him, the emotional relations in his home; and other information that will help him to understand how the individual "got that way," the direction in which he is moving, and the resources he has within himself to develop his best potentialities.
2. Knowledge of the cultural forces influencing young people today, and this person in particular.
3. Acquaintance with common sequences or patterns of behavior and common ways in which students have successfully met difficult school, home, or community situations, i.e., various technics of living which individuals have worked out.
4. Knowledge of resources for personal development within the school and community.
5. Skill in the use of various counseling technics, and ability to use any one or a combination that may help an individual discover and develop his best potentialities.

The counselor's philosophy and psychology influence the technics he uses, the records he keeps, the interpretation he makes. All these factors make for individual differences in counselors' preferences for certain approaches. A counselor should not try to use a method that is unnatural or uncongenial to him. Too frequently the counselor persists in using what he considers the approved method even though the counselee is responding poorly to this approach.

THE COUNSELOR'S PROFESSIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

The counselor's relationship with his fellow workers is as crucial as his relationships with students. He tries to make friendly individual contacts with teachers and to focus their attention on the needs of the students. He serves the teachers along the lines in which they are interested, as, for example, by helping with students' reading problems. He shows unfailing consideration for the teachers. For example, one counselor summarized for the teacher-counselors the most significant information on each student's records. He also influenced the administrator and

school board to provide teachers with more free periods. In these and other ways the counselor will avoid arousing teachers' jealousy and antagonism; more positively, he will release and direct their latent ability for establishing constructive human relations.

PERSONS WHO USE COUNSELING TECHNICS

On his own level of counseling, every member of a high school or college staff contributes to the personal development of students. In their respective roles each uses various counseling technics.

A classroom teacher speaks.—"The only counseling I do is that which arises in a classroom situation. I do no formal counseling. For five hours every day I have a chance to observe boys and girls—the way they work and play, their relations with other pupils, their response to me, their special interests and abilities, their physical condition, their emotional ups and downs. Some of these observations I record. Most of them I act on at once by giving a word or smile of approval, a suggestion, or by making some change in the school environment. I feel that guidance goes on through the whole school program. Every week I have, on the average, thirty short talks with individual pupils. These are at odd times—before and after school, between classes, at the noon hour, and in class when the pupils are working independently.

"In every class special problems crop up. For example, in one of my classes there was a boy of about fourteen who was restless and bored. In casual conversations after class, I learned that drawing was one of the few things he enjoyed. Thereafter, whenever opportunity offered, I asked him to draw pictures on the blackboard and to make posters. By this special ability he won recognition from his classmates. By reading his cumulative record I learned he was one of eight children, and had spent most of his life in an orphanage because his mother could not take care of him. Knowing this, I was able to meet his need for affection and recognition to some extent in his school life.

"Sometimes parents come in to see me. We usually begin by talking about the pupil's schoolwork and further educational plans. This frequently leads to problems of vocational guidance and family relationships. Often it is the parent who needs counseling.

"It is difficult to do counseling of individuals in a class of forty students when you are expected to teach subject matter in a formal way. But the opportunity and the need for counseling are there; it is the teacher's job to know his students as individuals. If teachers had more knowledge and skill, they could improve the quality of the counseling they now do."

In order to do more effective counseling, teachers and administrators

need to modify their concept of teaching to include work with individuals as well as work with groups.

The homeroom teacher, teacher of an orientation course, faculty adviser, or teacher-counselor has more time and more responsibility for counseling than the teacher of a subject. He is expected to keep cumulative records for his group of pupils and to help them get the experiences they need. His interviews usually include a discussion of long-range educational plans and an analysis of progress or failure in certain subjects, as well as any other problems the student wishes to discuss. Repeated friendly contact between the counselor and the student helps to change the student's initially hostile or apathetic attitudes. Parents are frequently consulted. Here, too, the quality of the counseling now being done can be greatly improved.

The club sponsor or group leader is not a counselor, but he uses counseling as well as group-work technics. He may interview prospective members to be sure that the group activity meets their needs and that they will contribute to the growth of other members. From then on he develops the program co-operatively on the basis of the interests and abilities of the members. He observes individuals in action. On the side, he talks with them about personal matters or their club responsibilities and relationships. He is careful, however, not to destroy a member's good relationship with the group by singling him out for special consideration. When an individual is too seriously disturbed to be helped by group methods, he refers him to a counseling or psychiatric service.

The full-time personnel worker—head of a residence hall, counselor, dean of students, dean of men, dean of women, or personnel director—has major responsibility for counseling. He should be able to work skillfully with the more complex cases that come to him voluntarily or are referred to him by other members of the staff. These may involve temporary or chronic homesickness, inability to get along with roommates, extreme unhappiness, emotional instability, withdrawal from social contacts, indecision about vocation and further education, desire to leave school or college, failure to take responsibility as a member of a group, ineffective reading and study methods, financial troubles, and health problems. In fact, any condition that prevents the student from developing his special gifts and realizing his best potentialities calls for counseling. This kind of counseling requires time, technical knowledge and skill, and resources for referral (9, 47).

The personnel worker in school or college should be familiar with specialized services, for it is his responsibility to use and co-ordinate them for the good of the student. In his initial contact with the student, he decides whether the specialized service is necessary. If it is, he helps the

student to see the need for it. He passes on to the specialist information that will help him in working with the case. He then helps the student to use his newly acquired insights and orientation in his day-by-day school and home relationships.

The school or college counselor occasionally makes contacts with community organizations who do a specialized kind of counseling. In cases of trouble in the family, he may contact the public health nurse or a social agency. For help with vocational guidance and placement problems, he may use the services of the State Employment Service, Veterans Administration, or private agencies that give vocational guidance.

The specialists—psychologist, psychological counselor, vocational guidance and placement expert, school social worker, physician and nurse, psychiatric social worker, and psychiatrist—work more intensively in narrower fields. They have acquired special technics and background for dealing with certain kinds of problems. They may work as members of the student personnel staff of a school or college, in a guidance department in a city system, or on the staff of a private or public social agency. More and more they are working with and through teachers and administrators. Thus they extend their services far beyond the students and parents with whom they work individually.

The Counseling Process

In addition to influences in the past, present, and future; the needs of the counselee; and the personality and preparation of the counselor, the counseling process itself is another major factor in effective counseling. In this process, knowledge and skills must be appropriately and sensitively used.

LEVELS OF COUNSELING AND PSYCHOTHERAPY

There are different levels of counseling and psychotherapy:

1. Indirect therapy, also called milieu or environmental therapy, provides a person with suitable work, an environment free from harmful strain and pressure, plenty of sleep and rest, and a friendly atmosphere. This approach may take many forms such as change of teachers, school, or home; summer camp experiences; or change of attitude and behavior of persons in the counselee's environment (34). Life itself solves many problems.
2. Direct counseling and psychotherapy
 - a. Counseling—a face-to-face relationship in which the counselor helps a person to gain insight, a new orientation, a more acceptable self-concept, better ways of thinking about life's problems and relationships, new technics of living. Counseling may vary

from rather superficial advice-giving to much deeper levels of helping the individual to gain genuine insight into his attitudes, behavior, and relationships.

- b. Psychoanalysis—usually considered to be on a deeper level than counseling, dealing with unconscious motivations. There are long-standing personality problems and deep-rooted habits of responding to life situations out of which an individual cannot pull himself merely by intellectual insight. For these, psychoanalysis is indicated. There is overlapping, however, between certain schools of psychiatry, psychoanalysis, and counseling. Hirning (26) described a program in which counselors were to be trained to supplement the work of psychiatrists and other specialists.
- c. Special psychiatric and medical treatment such as shock therapy, hypnosis, etc.

Tutoring and remedial work in school subjects has an educational orientation but it also often has a therapeutic effect. A combination of indirect and direct methods is most effective in many, if not in all, cases.

KINDS OF COUNSELING SERVICE

In a school or college, "counseling service" covers a range of activities from a brief conversation "on the fly" to a series of interviews extending over several years. Each of these different kinds of contacts has characteristic features.

The casual counseling conversation. This differs from the purely social conversation in that student and counselor have a purpose in mind. The student may want help on a particular problem; the counselor may want to take advantage of the psychological moment to reinforce a desirable personality trend or to help the student view in a more constructive way some situation which he is about to face. The counselor sees this brief contact in relation to the student's total developmental pattern.

The fifteen- or twenty-minute interview. This is still the most common type of counseling contact in many schools and colleges. The counselor has hundreds of students to serve. One counselor, who kept a record for thirty-six weeks of his counseling contacts, found that he was having from four to fifteen contacts daily (16). The faculty adviser or teacher-counselor of a smaller group also has limited time. In these short interviews, counselors try to help students with difficulties involving choice of courses or of further education, failure in academic work, social relations, discipline problems, choice of a vocation, or part-time work. *Educational Guidance: Its Principles and Practice* (38) presents a number of interviews of this kind.

The short-contact case. This may be an orientation interview with every student or a voluntary or referred interview with certain students. Usually about an hour in length, it is an important type of counseling contact which will be described in detail in the chapter on the interview and the case study.

The "nondirective" series of interviews. In this kind of counseling the student has time to think through his problems of development and adjustment in a permissive, accepting atmosphere. Many examples of this type of interview have been reported verbatim.¹

For many persons the nondirective interview is a valuable experience. Every student should have the opportunity to clarify and develop his idea of his most acceptable self, and to work out practical ways in which he can make progress toward self-realization.

The consultation service. This service follows a pattern of contacts that take at least ten hours distributed over several days or weeks. It usually consists of four or five parts: (1) The *intake interview* in which the interviewer finds out the kind of service that the client wants, and describes the services that the agency can give. If counseling is indicated, the client fills out an application blank and also an interest blank. The agency secures school records for most of the young people who apply. (2) Some days later the counselor assigned to the case conducts an *interview* in which the client describes his interests, education, work experience, home conditions, recreation, and future objectives. During this interview the counselor tries to sense the fundamental factors in the person's vocational adjustment. He also tries to determine whether tests will be helpful, discusses the opportunity for testing with the client, and if he is interested arranges for a testing appointment. (3) In the *testing period*, a trained psychologist administers the tests, and records his observation of the client during the individual testing period. (4) A *case conference* is then held. Present are the counselor and usually the professional person who referred the client, another experienced counselor, and sometimes the psychologist. (5) In the *second interview*, the counselor gives the client the information he needs, interprets it, and encourages him to use it in planning what seem to him the most feasible next steps. Other interviews are arranged, if necessary. In some cases the intake counselor finds the client in need of information rather than counseling. In this event, he may be referred immediately to the Information Department for one interview with the counselor in charge.

A pioneer consultation service of this kind, and still one of the best, is the Vocational Advisory Service, New York City. Its procedures are described in admirable detail in Culbert and Smith's book (14).

¹See Chapter V.

A brief report of one case from the files of the Vocational Advisory Service will serve to clarify the aims and methods of this consultation type of counseling, and will illustrate the use of a certain pattern of counseling technics. A veteran who was having difficulty in getting placed in a civilian job came to the Vocational Advisory Service for help. In the initial interview the counselor learned from his school record that he had done very well in English and history and had taken part in school dramatics. He said he wanted to become an actor or a radio announcer. Before the war, a friend, recognizing his remarkable voice and fine diction, had referred him to a large radio station. He had been offered a position there, but the war intervened. From his description of his home situation, the counselor concluded that it would not offer him much help in choosing or preparing for a vocation. She recognized his feeling of discouragement and his need for experiencing success. It appeared that before the war he had had two years' experience in selling, which he enjoyed. For a time after entering the Armed Forces he was stationed in an Army hospital where he took the initiative in putting on radio programs which the patients greatly enjoyed. However, a later assignment gave him no opportunity to get further experience in his chosen line of work.

Because of his deep feeling of discouragement about himself and his uncertainty about his abilities, and because he had given evidence of real ability, certain tests were suggested: the *O'Rourke Vocabulary Test*, the *Personnel Test* by Wonderlic, and the *Minnesota Vocational Test for Clerical Workers*. He was also asked to fill out the Advisory Service's special information schedule. The examiner said that his concentration was good and that he scored above the average for high school graduates. The counselor effectively used the test results and the client's successful past experience to build up his morale.

There still remained the problem of finding a suitable job. The New York State Employment Service, which jointly sponsors the Consultation Service, was helpful here. Since the client saw the desirability of getting experience in some small radio stations, contact was made with an out-of-town station. He also made alternate plans for work and further study, in case he was not able to break into the radio field at once. However, he did obtain a radio position.

A year later the Vocational Advisory Service received an enthusiastic, optimistic letter from the client. The letter contained several newspaper clippings which praised his work. From the time of his new orientation to himself and his work, he had been making progress in his chosen vocation.

Clinical services. Psychological and guidance clinics deal with functional disorders, that is, with mental illnesses that do not seem to have primarily an organic basis. For these mental disorders psychotherapy is employed. Burton and Harris's collection of case studies (12) gives examples of widely different kinds of clinical treatment.

In the light of the preceding discussion, a few definitions may be attempted:

1. Counseling is a face-to-face relationship in which a person who needs help in developing his most acceptable self or in solving personal problems is given the opportunity to gain insight by thinking through the situation himself in an accepting atmosphere. The counselor may facilitate this process by supplying information and by making changes in the environment indicated in the course of counseling.

2. Psychotherapeutic counseling, as defined by Snyder, is a face-to-face relationship in which a psychologically trained individual is consciously attempting by verbal means to assist another person or persons to modify emotional attitudes that are socially maladjusted, and in which the subject is relatively aware of the personality reorganization through which he is going (35:298).

"Help must be directed to the more positive aspect of the self, with the interest focusing on what can be done rather than on weakness and what cannot be done" (2:679).

3. Psychotherapy covers somewhat deeper areas from counseling, and may be defined as the treatment of so-called functional (as contrasted with organic) mental disorders by psychological methods. It can include nonverbal methods such as art therapy and the use of music.

DIVERSE COUNSELING PROCEDURES

Some clinical psychologists, notably Thorne (42), recognize the multiple causation of emotional maladjustment and the importance of an initial diagnosis as a basis for varying the treatment according to the needs of individuals. He admits that in many cases the nondirective method is an effective kind of therapy. However, he does not agree that it is the best procedure in all cases. From the wealth of accumulated clinical experience he finds evidence of individual differences in clients' accessibility to, or ability to profit by, different kinds of treatment. Another theory, presented by Patterson and others, is that there is "a common basic etiology of all functional mental disorders" (30:156). This being so, specific diagnosis cannot be related to specific therapy. This argument is not entirely convincing. It implies a specificity of diagnosis that is not acceptable to the skillful clinician who arrives at a

complex pattern of causation rather than separate diagnostic details

Each counselor and clinical psychologist should work on his own level of training and competency; he should not attempt to use methods in which he feels insecure. Counselors may do more harm than good (1) if they fail to adapt their approach to the needs of the individual, and rigidly use one technic even when they have evidence that it is not appropriate for the individual, or (2) if they attempt to use technics in which they are not qualified.

Many kinds of counseling technics appear to get results. Success is reported with even the most elementary methods. For example, Lucile, a college freshman, was going out every night and leaving the campus every weekend. Her work was of poor quality and she was tense and irritable from lack of sleep. Lucile's teacher-counselor, after receiving her sign-out slips and noticing the signs of overfatigue in their conferences together, made a careful study of her work. He flatly suggested that she not leave the college for a period of time until she was doing better work and getting enough sleep. He said that after a while it would be quite all right for her to go out, provided that she used good judgment and limited her weekends off-campus to every third or fourth one. Through following these suggestions, Lucile overcame her "nervousness" and improved her work. Many well-known psychiatrists have similarly reported success with diverse methods.

In brief, the process is for the individual

- to want something
- to see himself and the situation in a new light
- to act in accord with his new perception
- to find this action satisfying.

Stated psychologically, the sequence is: drive, cue, response, and reward. The last step in counseling is a satisfactory adjustment in the social world outside the interview situation.

ESSENTIALS OF THE COUNSELING PROCESS

Five essentials of the counseling process are the relationship, the atmosphere, the facilitation of the counselee's efforts, attention to his adjustment in life situations, and the follow-up. The heart of the counseling process is the relationship between counselor and counselee. This is not a permanent, parent-child relationship, nor a mutually obligatory friend-to-friend relationship, nor a pupil-teacher relationship, nor yet a confessional priest-parishioner relationship. It is a relationship in which the counselee has a sense of responsibility for taking the initiative and using the resources within himself to help himself. On the part of the counselor it is a relationship marked by warmth, responsiveness,

and acceptance of the person as he is and as he can become. This relationship requires knowledge of the counselee's real potentialities and avoidance of premature interpretation that might arouse the counselee's resistance. The counseling relationship itself is a growth experience. It seems to release dynamic forces within the counselee that enable him to cope with his present situation. Writing in defense of the faith-curers in 1894, William James said, "They are proving by the most brilliant new results that the therapeutic relation may be what we can at present describe only as a relation of one person to another person" (27:69). Even a relatively brief relation that is completely satisfying may be as positively potent as a traumatic experience is detrimental.

The counselor creates a psychological atmosphere of acceptance and freedom in which the counselee can explore and express his feelings and gain a new perception of the situation. In this permissive atmosphere the counselee feels free to be himself. He has courage to face his feelings; he no longer needs to hide or justify them. He is stimulated to use more mature ways of meeting the demands of the present.

So conceived, counseling is not a passive process—a process of letting the student pour out his heart while the counselor merely listens. No, the counselor is intensely active in trying to understand the student and to reflect his more positive and significant feelings. He conveys understanding to the counselee by his facial expression and bodily position; his reflections of the counselee's ideas and emotions show that he really understands what the counselee has been saying, however haltingly. If the counselor has achieved an understanding—accurate as far as it goes—he may make some interpretations or syntheses when the counselee is ready for them. When the counselee feels the need for certain information that is not accessible to him, the counselor makes it available and the counselee uses it as he wishes.

Anyone who is familiar with counseling in high school and college will recognize a wide discrepancy between this theory of counseling and present practice. Many students unfortunately get the impression that the counselor is bent on persuading them to follow a certain course of action. They say, "The counselor tells us what we should do, and if we're sure we should do something else and will do it anyway, his opposition only makes it harder for us." Thus counselors may unwittingly add to the already heavy load of conflicts which many adolescents are carrying. Instead of "making it harder" for the student, the counselor should help him to see his life "steadily and whole," realistically and hopefully.

After the counselee has gained insight and made plans to carry it out, he must still go through the process of actual adjustment in life situ-

ations. Many students need help in carrying out their plans. If they fail in their first attempts because the demands of the environment are too exacting, the counseling process has failed, too.

In many cases the counselee is never helped to the point where he makes a good adjustment to his life situation. The counselor does not help find a suitable school, a suitable job, or suitable social experiences. In other words, much counseling fails to provide experiences the individual needs outside the counseling situation. If the client gains insight in the interview but is then confronted with tasks and attitudes with which he cannot possibly cope, he is likely to feel more frustrated than ever. Therefore, the counselor must deal with the environment as well as with the counselee. In many instances, verbal solutions are pale and feeble compared with having the opportunity to demonstrate that one can actually handle a situation. Even though the situation is artificially made easy at first, the experience of succeeding in it is an important part of the therapeutic process.

Follow-up studies of individuals who have been counseled are essential to an evaluation of the counseling process. The counselor can explain the follow-up procedure to the counselee and show him the form that he will receive at intervals of six months or a year. This follow-up will have therapeutic as well as research value if it gives the counselee additional encouragement and support in using his insights to make a better adjustment to life. Counseling is not successful unless it leads to better adjustment—unless the counselee has not only faced his conflicts but has also moved toward a constructive solution of them.

One cannot judge the success of counseling solely by what goes on in the interview. Rogers uses the client's statements in the interview as the main evidence of progress or success in counseling; if there is evidence within the interview itself that the client is experiencing less conflict and has gained insight, the counseling process is judged successful. Other writers maintain that a follow-up of the case is necessary if one is to determine whether the insights the client has gained are realistic, whether he is troubled by new and more intense inner conflicts which have arisen out of his inability to cope with life situations, whether the sound insights he has gained have been translated into life relationships. It is quite possible that an individual who shows an apparently satisfactory adjustment in the interview situation and temporarily feels successful and happy, may experience such a conflict between this unrealistic euphoria and conditions in the outside world for which he is not prepared as to cause a disturbance more intense and serious than his original conflict. This relapse may not be due to the difference in the

atmosphere between the counseling and the life situations, but rather to the fact that unconscious conflicts have not been really worked out, despite the rosy glow of the counseling relationship. This is the chief weakness of the nondirective approach when used with deeply disturbed persons.

The Aim of Counseling

The aim of counseling is self-realization for a social purpose. This involves helping the individual to understand what he can do and what he should do, to strengthen his best qualities, to handle his difficulties rationally rather than being driven by unconscious forces, to find suitable channels for his emotions, and to move toward his more acceptable self. In the world today, a more acceptable self implies a concern for the welfare of all. This social aspect of counseling has been generally disregarded. Yet counseling is a potent means of building social attitudes, and, through better people, a better world.

If an individual has gained an understanding of himself and his relations to others and if he has resolved some of his inner conflicts, he will have less need to hate and to dominate others. By reflecting the counselee's more positive and socially minded feelings, as, for example, "You get satisfaction from being of service to the group," the counselor reinforces these values. By encouraging him to work out his social relationships, the counselor helps him to develop technics for social living.

Counseling at its best is the art of helping a person to understand himself, his relations to others, and the world in which he lives. It is a learning experience for the student. It helps him to change his confused or inadequate perception of his life situation so that he can move toward a more adequate self-organization. It helps him to make the most of his school and college years.

Counseling should be centered on the individual-in-his-environment, not problem centered, or counselor centered, or technic centered. The environment itself may be used as an instrument of therapy. As already suggested, a change in an individual's environment, especially in the case of a child or adolescent, may help him gain a new orientation and make adjustment easier for him. Moreover, a change in the person being counseled frequently affects the family constellation. For example, a modification in a mother's attitude and behavior toward her child may influence the child's behavior considerably. The child's improved behavior may evoke a more favorable relationship with the father and with brothers and siblings. Thus a beneficent cycle of response is set in motion—Follett's idea of circular response. In some instances, the

special attention given to one child has precipitated problem behavior in other children in the family—the elder-brother response in the parable of the prodigal son.

Counseling is a gradual process. It takes time for the individual to gain a more hopeful idea of himself and his role, and a new orientation to his environment. He gradually comes to recognize and choose more permanently satisfying goals and the more mature behavior necessary to attain them. He uses insights gained in the counseling process to make decisions and plans for translating these decisions into action. In dealing with the present situation, he learns how to meet future problems in constructive ways, for counseling is more concerned with the present and the future than with the past. All students would profit by this kind of counseling.

Counselors may well consider the admonition of Dr. Margaret Chung, a Chinese physician in San Francisco: "Be sure that your spiritual guidance as well as your vocational guidance is sound." In these times, there is more need than ever for relating our values to our daily conduct, for gaining perspective, for attaining a spiritual outlook, for establishing personal relationships which are as "an hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place; as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land."

CONCEPTS UNDERLYING COUNSELING

The personnel worker's concept of counseling and his choice of technics depend upon his theory of personality. From the modern view of personality come ideas that give direction to the counseling process:

1. The idea of motivation—the individual's desire for self-actualization, his need to make his life as "good" or complete as possible.
2. The idea of conscious and unconscious drives to action. Behavior that is consciously motivated is likely to be reasonable and consistent; behavior that is instigated by the unconscious is likely to be irrational and unpredictable. Blindly repressed desires may give rise to inner conflicts or illness. This does not mean that a person should express his every desire, but rather that he consciously decides not to do things that are detrimental to himself or to others.
3. The idea of purpose or goal which gives direction to and integrates a person's behavior trends.
4. The idea of the dynamic organization of personality.
5. The idea of untapped resources for self-realization within the individual which can be released and will sometimes produce psychological miracles. The counselor assumes that the individual has resources

- for growth within himself and that, when conditions are favorable, he can move toward a better, more complete self-realization.
6. The idea of the many-sided aspects of personality and its continuity from birth to death.
 7. The idea of "the language of behavior"—behavior as an expression of inner need.
 8. The idea that we are products of our time—that there are cultural causes of behavior and that favorable cultural conditions make good personal development possible.

If the counselor accepts the older "sum total" definition of personality, he will be content with observation, questionnaires, and other methods of obtaining information about the subject's specific reactions. If he accepts May's definition of personality as the "social stimulus value" of an individual, he will observe the individual in groups and obtain interviews or written reports from persons who know the subject. If he thinks of personality structure as having a central core, or radix, he may give weight to introspective reports and other personal documents embedded in a comprehensive matrix, and employ prediction technics to test the structure he has discovered. If he accepts Allport's widely quoted definition, "Personality is the dynamic organization within the individual of those psychophysical systems that determine his unique adjustments to his environment" (3:48), he may concentrate his attention on nondirective interviews or on projective technics which aim to reveal the way in which a subject organizes himself in response to a situation for which he has no ready-made or habitual response. In these and other ways, the counselor's concept of personality influences his counseling procedure.

Another concept about which we talk glibly is "insight." Just what is insight? Some persons think of insight as intellectual understanding. Others define insight as understanding plus emotional acceptance of the new viewpoint. Still others believe that insight must include intellectual clarification emotionally accepted, leading to action—action approved in the culture or directed toward changing the culture.

A psychological explanation of insight leading to action is as follows: During the counseling process, the counselee perceives himself and his relationships in a new light. As a consequence he will, in the future, respond to the situation-as-perceived. According to this view, insight is the reorganization of one's perceptual field with reference to himself and to persons associated with him. The new and satisfying relationship that the counselee has experienced in the interview itself is an important part of the process of developing insight.

Technics Useful in Counseling

No one has yet devised an adequate method of "studying the individual as a whole." Perhaps the best available method is to view the individual in different situations by means of various technics, synthesizing the results in a case study. Both counselor and student would gain the most complete understanding from the dynamic synthesis of insights gained from the use of a pattern of technics selected as appropriate to the individual. Another method of making a dynamic study of an individual is to create an interview atmosphere in which the person's idea of himself and his relationships will gradually unfold. The "He would" prediction technic—an attempt to describe what an individual would do on the basis of previous knowledge of him—was suggested by Barbara Burks as another method of studying the individual functioning as a whole. Still another method is to observe his response to an unfamiliar or unstructured situation, as in the projective technics. Each technic makes a unique contribution to the study of the person, one supplementing or reinforcing the others.

Observation is a basic technic. It supplies the counselor with information on the individual's overt, or observable, behavior in various situations. First impressions are important. The teacher soon becomes aware of individuality in his class. The counselor often gains as much understanding of the student from watching him as from listening to him. Group workers learn about members' social relations by observing their interaction in the group.

Counselors can improve their technic of observation, and also help teachers to see significant aspects of students' personalities. Though most of their observations are never recorded, teachers record some of them in anecdotal or behavior diary form. Over a period of time they may summarize their observations on rating scales or in a descriptive paragraph or two. Observation is the most natural and widely used aid in understanding students.

Observation may be supplemented and verified by the results of standardized tests (see the next section on the use of tests in counseling).

If a picture of the student's twenty-four-hour activities is needed for a better understanding, this information may be obtained from records of his daily activities. A few minutes' study of his daily schedules will acquaint the counselor with the student's health habits, recreation, reading, sociability, and study practices.

Knowledge of his actual physical condition and growth may be supplied by reports of physical and medical examinations, photographs, and motion pictures. In many instances, counselors have failed to under-

stand a student because they were ignorant of some latent or subacute organic condition.

Still more technical analyses of the individual may be made in physics, chemistry, and physiology laboratories. For example, the psychogalvanic reaction technic, basal metabolism, blood chemistry, tests of hearing and vision, and neurological examinations may supply crucial evidence in individual cases. The counselor should be familiar with the resources for expert diagnosis and therapy available in clinics and in medical and research centers for individuals who might profit by their highly technical services.

The picture of the individual obtained from observation and testing and from the daily schedule and physical examination becomes more complete, clear, and accurate in the interview. The same act may be regarded quite differently by two observers who interpret it in the medium of their own values, attitudes, needs, and the residue of their own childhood experiences. In order to understand an individual, the counselor needs more than objective facts. He needs to know about the illusive, shifting intangibles of attitudes and human relationships. He needs to know what certain behavior means to the individual, and the feelings and views that he will express in a permissive, accepting counseling atmosphere.

Personal documents add to the understanding of an individual. Since some individuals write more freely than they talk, they reveal their ideas of themselves and their view of their world in autobiographies, compositions, and letters. On paper-and-pencil inventories and self-rating blanks, they are channeled into a more stereotyped characterization of their interests and personality. Unless they feel responsibility for their own guidance, they may merely try to make a good impression on the counselor.

Such a conscious representation of himself may be quite different from the subject's hidden inner world of feelings and meanings. However, these latter may be revealed by the projective technics without the person's realizing fully the significance of his responses.

In addition to these technics of work with individuals, there are group-work technics that have instructional and therapeutic values as well as supplying information about the student as a "social atom." The sociometric technic, the sociodrama, discussion methods, and other technics of work with groups are described in another volume of this series (39).

Every technic has possible therapeutic or harmful effects as well as diagnostic value. For example, a questionnaire may make a student overintrospective or arouse antagonism toward the person who adminis-

ters it, or it may encourage beneficial self-appraisal and self-evaluation. Tests that give the counselor a better understanding of an individual's mental ability may also either increase or destroy his self-confidence. Interviews that give the counselor insight into the individual's attitudes and interests may likewise have the therapeutic value of giving the counselee the experience of an hour of a satisfying human relationship.

Each of these technics makes its own unique contribution to a detailed picture of the individual—his overt behavior, his physical condition, his twenty-four-hour activities, his social relations, his responses to standardized mental tasks, his self-appraisal on interest and personality inventories, his spontaneous autobiographical description of himself and his world, his attempt to express his thoughts and feelings in the permissive atmosphere of an interview, his unconscious revelation of his inner world through the projective technics.

The counselor does not have to wait until he knows all the facts (1:56). In some cases he can achieve a great deal by using whatever fragments of information he has. For example, merely knowing that a student has a low self-esteem would be sufficient as a starting point for working with him effectively by providing him with opportunities to build self-respect. Teachers have demonstrated that some very worth-while work can be done despite a dearth of factual information. Counselors have demonstrated that, in some cases, understanding of the individual unfolds in a series of nondirective interviews. The place of diagnostic information in the counseling process will be discussed at greater length later (see pages 25-29, 35).

None of these technics alone, however, can reveal the many-sided aspects of an individual's personality. Only when each is used and interpreted with reference to all the other available sources of information is it most helpful in counseling. For example, observation of a person while he is taking the Binet test supplies pertinent information about his reaction to difficulty, his vocabulary, his approach to a stranger, his self-concept, his ways of meeting the testing situation. But observation should be interpreted by introspective reports; interviews should be supplemented by observation; and psychological test results become fully meaningful only in the setting of the student's daily performance and attitudes. A student's mental retardation may be explained, in part, by an extremely unstimulating social environment; his low achievement by lack of schooling; his emotional immaturity by maternal oversolicitude. Trends in the student's development become apparent only after study of accumulated personnel data. For example, a student's present low grades may be in line with his previous record, or they may represent a slump or an upward trend. An escapade for which he was referred to

the student court may be one of many similar episodes, or his first offense.

To show both trends and present patterns of all-round development, the cumulative record card or folder has been devised. It is a convenient means of synthesizing information from scattered sources. Read across, it shows trends in intelligence, achievement, interests, and other aspects of individual development. Read longitudinally, it shows relationships among the various factors recorded. Summarized and interpreted periodically, it is a means of understanding the student's many-sided development.

Other methods of making a still more continuous, meaningful, and dynamic pattern of an individual's personality may be developed. For example, at the University High School, Oakland, California (11), elaborate charts have been developed. Some of these charts show the development of dominant characteristics that have influenced and are continuing to influence the student's personality. Goal charts picture the changing objectives toward which the individual is moving, the difficulties he is meeting and overcoming, and the satisfactions and annoyances he is experiencing. Other charts show combinations of events that at a given time are affecting his thinking, feeling, and acting. When these means of understanding are shared with the person involved, or developed by him, he may be greatly aided in the process of self-appraisal.

From this brief overview of technics the reader may have obtained the impression that counseling is counselor centered, and that a cumulative or developmental record or a comprehensive case study is an end in itself. This is a very wrong impression. The only reason that the counselor wants to get information about the counselee and to analyze and synthesize it, is so that he can help the student to understand himself and to move toward his more acceptable self.

Use of Tests in Counseling

This volume includes no chapter on tests because the subject is treated adequately in other books: Anderson and Embree (4); Bingham (6); Froelich and Benson (20); Greene (22); Rapaport, Gill, and Schafer (31); Super (41); Vernon (45); and Wood and Haefner (49). However, a brief orientation to the use of tests in counseling will be helpful at this point.

In schools and colleges, tests are useful to discover students in need of counseling. The cumulative test record often shows a marked discrepancy between intelligence and achievement; it may call attention to changes in behavior such as a sudden slump in academic achievement.

Personality tests have been widely used for screening purposes—to detect students who are having problems of adjustment. Other uses of tests in counseling are to indicate the kind of counseling or psychotherapy needed to meet the individual's need and readiness for specific objective evidence about himself. In some cases, tests help to build up a student's self-esteem or self-confidence. They are also valuable as a check on the counselor's observation of the student. In general, the shorter the interview time the greater the need for test data that are already available. However, if the counselor uses much of his limited time in testing, he has too little time left for helping the student through skillful interviewing to achieve a satisfactory new orientation.

Bordin and Bixler (10) described interview procedures in which the clients have opportunity both to select tests that they think appropriate for them and to express their feelings about anything that is bothering them. This is an application of the nondirective technic with persons who come to the counselor with the expectation of taking tests to help them in making educational or vocational plans.

Intelligence tests show how a person's mind works under certain standard conditions. A teacher or counselor frequently reconsiders his impressions of a student's mental alertness after he has seen the results of standardized tests. By this means he may detect and help to develop superior ability that has thus far escaped observation; he may confirm his impressions of low scholastic aptitude, and thereafter protect the individual from unreasonable demands. Various tests of mental ability are used for different purposes. At the University of Michigan, Bordin and Bixler gave students the following explanation of several of the most widely used intelligence tests:

One type of test we have is one that gets at your general learning ability. You can get a comparison of your common sense learning ability and your book-learning ability with that of the general run of people (*Wechsler Adult and Adolescent Scales*). If you wish, you can get a comparison of your book-learning ability with that of college students (*American Council or Ohio State Psychological Examinations*). We find that this last kind of measure when taken along with rank in high-school graduating class is the most accurate basis for predicting what a student will do in most types of college curricula (10:365).

Tests of reading ability and other kinds of school achievement usually increase teachers' awareness of the wide distribution of abilities in their classes. The same authors described some of the useful college achievement tests as follows:

Another type of test that we have is one which compares how much you know in specific subjects with how much others know. For the most part these tests do not predict anything about you; but certain ones, under special conditions,

do. For example, one test compares your knowledge of high-school mathematics with that of entering freshmen in engineering who have had about the same amount of high-school mathematics as you have had (*Cooperative Mathematics Test*). Scores on this test, when taken along with your rank in your high-school graduating class, provide the most accurate basis for predicting how well you will do in engineering. Similarly, a test of your knowledge of the application of scientific principles (*Johnson Science Test*) and your knowledge of algebra (*Cooperative Algebra Test*), when compared with entering freshmen in these fields and taken along with your high-school rank, give the most accurate basis for predicting grades in agriculture, forestry, and home economics. The remaining tests of knowledge are merely ways of checking your impression of how much you know in a particular subject or what subjects you know best (10:365).

A few tests have been designed to predict a student's success in certain lines of study or work. These are called *prognostic tests*. Examples of these are the *Luria-Orleans Modern Language Prognosis Test*, the *Orleans Geometry Prognostic Test*, the *Hoke Test of Stenographic Ability*, the *Engineering Aptitude Test*. Bordin and Bixler described tests of "the more restricted type of skills" as follows:

For the most part these are skills that are the basis for predicting how well a person would learn jobs that do not require college training. Some of these skills would be good to have in college-trained jobs, but they are not vital. For example, one test of this type gets at the ability to work quickly and accurately in routine checking operations (*Minnesota Clerical Aptitude Test*), the sort that are required in paper work in an office. This is a skill that is vital for an office clerk or a bookkeeper. It would also be good for an accountant to have but would not be so vital. Another test gets at the ability to see objects in a different position from the one shown (*Revised Paper Form Board Test*). It is the type of skill that enters into blueprint reading, drafting, and planning layouts. Still another gets at a person's knowledge and understanding of common-sense mechanical principles, his mechanical "know how" (*Bennett Mechanical Comprehension Test*). This test provides a basis for predicting how easily a person would learn a wide range of mechanical jobs. Another type of test gets at a person's ability to manipulate objects with his hands—the fine kinds of manipulations that are required of a watchmaker, an engraver, or a dentist (*Finger Tool Dexterity Test*)—or the larger kinds of manipulation that are required of a carpenter or an auto mechanic (*Spatial Relations* or *Manual Dexterity* tests) (10:365-66).

The best test of an individual's ability to succeed in a certain kind of work, however, is a "work sample" or "tryout" experience on the job. Unfortunately, this kind of test is usually neither economical nor practical.

There are also tests of interests and attitudes. Bordin and Bixler described these tests to college-age students as follows:

We also have tests of how you feel about things. . . . The main way we help people to take their feelings into account is by giving them the opportunity to talk things over with us in this kind of interview. With the kind of help we can

give them, we find they can get a deeper understanding of how they feel. Many times these tests can help a person along in this process of puzzling things out by giving them new slants on how they feel about themselves. In one test you would indicate how you feel about yourself in terms of occupational or occupationally-related activities (*Strong Vocational Interest Blank*). From this you might get a new slant on how you see yourself in terms of occupations. For example, the way you feel now, you may not like the idea of yourself as a salesman—you just can't see yourself as the salesman type—but you do see yourself as the scientific type of guy. This test gets at this feeling by comparing your likes and dislikes with those of successful men in various types of occupations. Another test gets at how you feel about yourself more generally, not just in terms of occupational activities (10:366).

Paper-and-pencil personality tests or inventories are subject to many errors of misrepresentation and misinterpretation. Some schools have discontinued their use as a part of the regular testing program (13). Comparisons between maladjustment as indicated by scales and inventories and by clinical study show a lack of diagnostic agreement. However, results of such investigations are inconclusive because of the obvious sources of error in both methods (15).

Obviously, tests do not give the answer to the student's question as to what he should do with his life. Any test measures only a sample of the individual's behavior. It is an indirect means of appraising his progress toward certain objectives. Consequently, the counselor should interpret and use test results with great care. The following are suggestions for the use of tests in counseling:

1. Recognize individual differences in persons when choosing the best tests to use.
2. Wait until the counselee feels the need for information from tests. By giving tests early in the counseling process, the counselor may divert the counselee from freely expressing his feelings and may overemphasize the importance of tests.
3. Have available a variety of tests that (a) measure the objectives desired, (b) have been standardized on a group similar to the persons with whom the counselor is working, (c) yield essentially the same results if repeated with the same individuals (reliability of .90 or above), and (d) measure what they purpose to measure (validity coefficient of not less than 0.45).
4. If comparisons are to be made with the general population on which the test was standardized, administer it strictly according to directions and under favorable conditions. Occasionally one may vary the use of a standardized test in order to get special information about a person. For example, one may first time a reading test as directed, and then give it with unlimited time to find out whether

- the subject can comprehend the passage fully if he has enough time.
5. Interpret test results in the light of all the other information available about the person.
 6. Record test results in the student's cumulative record folder.

The Role of Diagnostic Information in Counseling

The controversy over the role of diagnostic information in counseling and psychotherapy centers upon this question: Does the understanding which the counselor obtains by means of various technics aid or hinder the counselee in using his own resources to effect a more satisfactory adjustment to life? Many counselors have got the impression from reading Rogers's *Counseling and Psychotherapy* (32) that case history data are not only unnecessary but even detrimental to successful nondirective counseling. Rogers himself, however, pointed out the danger in certain cases of going ahead without case history data:

The criterion [for therapy] most likely to cause difficulty is the question of whether the client has some capacity for controlling or changing his life situation. . . . With some individuals . . . handicapped in fundamental ways by their own inadequacies or the destructive quality of their environment, this decision may be a very difficult one. In such instances it is wise to undertake a thorough diagnostic study before making any decision as to what type of treatment is most likely to be profitable. In such cases, to initiate psychotherapy without a diagnostic study may only plunge the client further into hopelessness as his own lacks are brought into greater prominence by his increasing insight. Consequently, even though the diagnostic study may interfere somewhat with a counseling process, it is definitely advisable here.

We may summarize these comments by saying that in a great many instances counseling treatment may begin at once, in the first contact, without a diagnostic study, and that this procedure is entirely justified if the counselor is alert to the crucial aspects of the picture as they are revealed during the initial interview. In other cases an exhaustive diagnostic study may be advisable before choosing the most promising focus of treatment. In all of this the fact should be kept clearly in mind that it is the client's mature development which is important, and that the tools of clinical work are to be chosen with that fundamental fact in mind. If the counselor makes a complete case study, it should be because that is the way he is most likely to be able to assist the client in reaching normal adjustment. If he refrains from making such a study, it should be for precisely the same reason . . . (32:82-83). (Reprinted from *Counseling and Psychotherapy*, by Carl R. Rogers, by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company. Copyright, 1942 by Houghton Mifflin Company.)

The arguments pro and con run somewhat as follows: Those who believe diagnostic information about the counselee is unnecessary or harmful say:

1. Much more important than the facts about the counselee is their meaning for him. The way he feels about himself and his environment is best obtained in the undirected interview.

2. The counselor who is intent on understanding what the counselee is saying and feeling does not use case history data; he responds directly to the material the counselee produces at the time.
3. If the counselee has supplied case history data, he may feel that he has done his part and that it is now the counselor's responsibility to solve his problem. This mind-set makes it difficult to develop client responsibility.
4. Specific diagnostic information is not necessary in psychotherapy because emotional maladjustment does not have specific causes, but rather "a common basic etiology" (30).
5. The counselor is more likely to try to superimpose his solution upon the counselee if he has obtained diagnostic information prior to the interview.

Those who believe that diagnostic information on the individual's biological equipment, mental ability, interests, and emotions is desirable and necessary argue somewhat as follows:

1. Preliminary diagnostic information helps the interviewer decide on the kind of treatment that is needed. Before going ahead with treatment, the counselor should have an adequate basis for deciding whether a certain kind of treatment is appropriate to a particular individual. It is contrary to years of clinical experience to believe that one method of treatment is applicable in every case. Some individuals need freedom to think things through for themselves; others need help in extricating themselves from circuitous thoughts; still others need information in order to make realistic decisions and plans. Thorne maintains that interview time is wasted by not having diagnostic information that will direct "the course of treatment along what may seem to be the most profitable lines" (42:164). For example, it is important to know the extent to which the individual is handicapped by organic conditions. In the following instances, lack of accurate information prevented the proper immediate treatment of the individuals: A young man of a wealthy family was seriously retarded in mental development. His plans for the future were unrealistic in the absence of knowledge that his mental condition was attributable to a brain deterioration which was growing progressively worse. An adolescent who, according to the report of her sister, was headed toward a nervous breakdown, was not understood until a home visit showed the pathological conditions to which she was making the best possible adjustment. A college student presented a pattern of neurotic behavior which became understandable only when his cultural background, Army experiences, and the pressures of his present life situation were brought into focus.

2. It gives assurance to the counselee that a careful study is being made of his case.
3. It indicates whether some kind of medical treatment is needed; failure to detect physical factors results too frequently in neglect of necessary treatment. If there has been no medical diagnosis to detect an unrecognized organic cause, little will be accomplished by counseling.
4. Diagnostic data give the counselor a more accurate idea of the counselee's real abilities and problems, and thus a better basis for helping him to make progress in self-analysis and self-realization. Diagnostic information can often be used in interpreting a handicap to the client or in correcting his wrong impressions about his ability or handicap. The individual's idea of his handicap, or imagined handicap, may seriously affect his behavior. If the counselee builds up an unrealistic idea of himself in the interview, his sharpest conflict will only be postponed until he tries to function in real life situations.
5. Only with an accurate idea of the interviewee's personality and background is the counselor able to "reflect" most helpfully, and thus avoid mishandling the problem. For example, in dealing with failure in school subjects, the counselor's reflection of the student's feelings would be different if he knew the student had the potential mental ability to do the work, than if tests and school records showed inadequate mental ability to cope with academic requirements. In dealing with emotional problems, the counselor frequently finds that behavior which at first appears to be abnormal, may turn out to be reasonable in the light of environmental conditions.
6. Objective diagnostic data reassure the counselor that he is on the right track; this feeling of confidence is a factor in his success.

Part of this controversy arises from different concepts of *diagnosis*. If diagnosis means labeling a person as having a specific problem or mental disorder, it would not be a helpful part of the counseling process. If, however, diagnosis is concerned with understanding the complex causation and dynamics of a person's behavior, it would seem essential to the counseling and psychotherapy.

Personnel workers in schools and colleges, for the most part, believe that counseling is effective in proportion to the counselor's understanding of the individual gained over a period of years from information blanks, home visits, interviews, tests, and other sources (17, 19). They are right in thinking that even though the interview were the only technic needed in remedial guidance, other technics would still be essential to an effective developmental student personnel program. In such a program the aim is to help *every* student discover and develop his best potentialities

as he progresses through the school and college years. Cumulative records and case history data suggest beneficial changes that can be made in the student's program, instruction, and social grouping; they indicate students who need counseling; they give clues as to the kind of counseling that would be most helpful; they save interview time. Most of the students who come to the school or college counselor are short-contact cases. He is lucky if he has an hour to give to each. Without background data he could not possibly use the hour's time to the best advantage. With a partial understanding of the student to start with, he can let the student use the time to think through the situation, to gain insight, and to plan the next step to be taken.

Certain kinds of problems—particularly those involving educational and vocational guidance—depend largely on facts for their successful solution. The student's subjective appraisal, important as it is, must make connections with reality. Otherwise, the euphoria created in the interview will be distressingly deflated later on. One criterion by which a counselor can judge the success of his work is this: Are the counselee's shifts in self-concept during the counseling process in accord with reality, or are they unrealistic and therefore a cause of frustration when the person tries to meet the demands of the everyday world?

In a school or college situation the counselor is concerned with the developmental guidance program as well as with emotional maladjustment. In co-operation with teachers and other members of the staff, he sees that accurate information is accumulated about the students' home background; physical development and health; intellectual ability, potential and functioning; achievement; social relations; personality tendencies; special interests and talents; and goals, purposes, and plans—in short, any information that may have a bearing on the students' development and adjustment. This information he records in the cumulative or developmental record folder. If he has time, he synthesizes the developmental trends in descriptive paragraphs year after year. The cumulative record provides a basis for continuous study of the individual student. The counselor may interview every student periodically to help him understand his potentialities and plan for their development. By having case history data already collected, he will not have to use interview time for this purpose.

In cases of maladjustment, he may make more comprehensive case studies to gain further understanding, without, however, becoming biased prior to the interview. This background knowledge enables the counselor to decide whether he can be of help in this case. If he thinks he can, he will let the student use the interview time to express and clarify his feelings about himself and his relationships with other people. If,

in this process, the student reaches an impasse, the counselor may supply information or indicate sources of information which the student needs.

The new perceptions that the student gains in the interview can be reinforced and put to work in the school or college environment. Here is one place in which the school counselor has an advantage over the counselor in an employment office or social agency. He can help teachers make adjustments to individual students in their classes, talk with parents about their role, modify the student's program, encourage him to participate in beneficial groups. The counselor uses the environment as an instrument of therapy. He may employ group therapy (if he has training in it) for persons who are resistant to individual psychotherapy.

The Counselor's Use of Technics

Technics must never interfere with the essential warm human relationship that should exist between counselor and counselee. The counselor is in danger of destroying this relationship if he uses technics mechanically or centers his attention on the use of the technic rather than on the person seeking help.

The limitations of any technic are largely the limitations of the person who uses it. Technics and instruments supplement, but do not supplant, the essential qualities of personality in the counselor. As Dean Hawkes wrote:

We can have all the techniques and all the tests and all the instruments in the world, but unless they are administered by wise men, I am not certain but that they do as much harm as good. At any rate, I would rather have the wise man without the techniques than the techniques without the wise man. The wise man plus the technique is the combination we are working toward. . . . I feel like saying the prayer, "Lord, teach us to keep the values of the old in the method of the new" (25:81).

Technics, as John Dewey suggested, are only an intelligent way of getting results.² As much time and money should be spent on teaching counselors to use instruments with sensitivity and accuracy as has been spent on the construction of such instruments.

Technics are servants; they implement the philosophy behind counseling. They change as the concept of counseling changes. When counseling is considered as a step-by-step scientific process of analysis, synthesis, diagnosis, prognosis, treatment, and follow-up, tests and other objective instruments play a major role (48). On the other hand, when counseling is considered as a client-centered process, the interview be-

² The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary defines *technics* as "technical details or methods collectively, the technical department of a subject." *Technical*, as used here, pertains to "practice, method, procedure, etc., in any science, business, profession . . ." (Webster).

comes of first importance. In actual practice, counseling is usually conceived as a "joint quest" leading to the student's self-realization; the counselor facilitates this process. Constantly sensitive to the student's need and constantly aware of the dynamics of the process, the counselor uses any technic in his repertory that is helpful at any given moment. Some of the technics described in this book, observation, for example, can be used on all levels of counseling. Others, such as the projective technic, require clinical background and experience. Choice of the appropriate technic in a particular case is a prerequisite for its successful use.

The counselor uses technics as a painter uses different colors and brushes to get the result he desires. But here the analogy ends, for the counselor is not interested in a static, finished picture, but in a growing individual taking responsibility for his own development. He uses any instrument or technic that will help the individual to understand himself, accept himself, and realize his most acceptable self.

The following case, briefly reported here, illustrates how the individual's understanding of himself grows as one technic after another is skillfully used:

A boy who had graduated from high school was floundering vocationally. He made a fine first impression—good looking, well groomed, affable.

Data on the application blank that he filled out showed that his family was in comfortable circumstances and that the father was a skilled worker, employing several men in his trade. An examination of the school record, which was very poor, gave the first indication that the counselee could not get along in school. Although he liked the shop course in high school, he did not mention a trade as one of his six vocational choices nor did he show any enthusiasm for a trade.

As the counselor studied the various sources of information, she got the impression that lack of drive was the core of his problem of adjustment in this competitive world. It seemed as though he were almost too comfortable and well adjusted in his family life!

As the boy continued to talk with the counselor, his lack of work experience, inadequate basis for vocational choice, and feelings of insecurity came out more and more clearly. At the same time the impression of a happy home relationship and close family ties was reinforced.

The *Bellevue Wechsler Intelligence Test* showed that he had the mental ability to succeed in college. The pattern analysis of two interest inventories, which were used late in the counseling process after the counselee had explored his interests freely, indicated still more clearly the boy's interest in several suitable vocational fields. Both tests and school ex-

perience showed interest and proficiency in mechanical drawing. As the counseling process continued, the boy's vocational pattern became clearer to him and to the counselor, and their understanding of his personality grew.

As his tentative vocational choices—printer, naturalist, aviator, chemist, and veterinary—were explored, the boy recognized the difficulties of entering the printing trade in the city because of its tight unionization and of becoming an airplane pilot because of the two thousand hours of flying required and the large number of applicants for commercial positions as pilots. Simultaneously with the narrowing of the range of vocational choice, the more intensive exploration of possible vocations began. At this point information about vocations and specific jobs was necessary in order to match a complex employment situation with a complex personality.

As a result of this counseling and placement procedure, this boy secured a job in a company with the following requisites: it gave the workers a certain prestige to be working for that particular company; it employed many college graduates; and it had a job the boy could do with his present lack of preparation. He made friends with another boy, who stimulated him to continue his studies in night school and thus improve his poor high school record. Obtaining a job, suitable from a number of angles indicated in the counseling process, proved to be the first step toward this boy's good adjustment. Gaining independence, but still maintaining a warm relationship with his family, was the next step which the boy recognized during the counseling procedure.

Permeating the use of technics should be the spiritual quality of genuine love for people, expressed in the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians.

Evaluation of Counseling

The evaluation of counseling is difficult for several reasons:

1. Changes in the individual may be due to factors other than the counseling process. It is difficult to know whether improved attitudes and behavior are attributable to the counseling or to environmental conditions.
2. The individual's adjustment may be temporary, or it may not be fully effected until years later.
3. Evidence of better adjustment is too often limited to the counseling situation, whereas evaluation demands evidence that the client has changed in life situations. We cannot infer behavior in life situations from behavior in the interview.

Various criteria of progress in counseling and psychotherapy have been

employed in follow-up studies: nonreturn for treatment, the cessation of symptoms, the client's statements about his adjustment, his ability to get and hold a job. None of these criteria is satisfactory. The only really adequate criterion of success in counseling is evidence of the client's ability to use his energy more effectively in life situations without undue emotional wear and tear (37).

Few attempts have been made to measure the effectiveness of counseling in schools and colleges, probably because of the difficulty of setting up a truly controlled experiment. On the college level, Walters (46) divided 220 freshmen in the College of Engineering at Purdue University into three groups: one group was counseled by instructors; one, by senior students; and one received no special counseling. The group counseled by seniors made the most academic progress during the year. The group counseled by instructors made more progress than the control group and was the one whose members thought they had received the most valuable assistance. Two-thirds of the students thought they had been helped by counseling. In a more recent attempt to appraise a four-year counseling program (43), the investigator set up two matched groups of college students, one counseled by faculty advisers, the other receiving no special counseling. More of the counseled group remained to graduate, fewer received "warnings," and more earned a significantly larger-than-average number of credits during their years of college. The effects of counseling did not show up in these students' marks, except in the case of those who did not graduate, and here those who had been counseled made better grades.

Preparation of Counselors

Although there is need for research on the effects of different methods of counselor training, we can at the present time describe certain essentials. The first essential is to recruit and select applicants who are sensitive to persons and have a deep-seated respect for the potentialities of all human beings. Other of the personal qualities described on page 3 should also be sought in persons admitted to courses offered for personnel workers.

Second, the personality development of the counselor is an important part of his training. If the counselor is overanxious and insecure, he cannot have a constructive relationship with the counselee. The question arises: How can this basic personal and professional security be developed during the period in which the counselor is preparing for his work? The training institution may decrease the counselor's anxiety in several ways: by helping him to feel that he is able to handle the situation, by leading him to realize that failure in a case may be due not to his method of treatment but to the inherent difficulty of the case, by enabling him

to conduct successful work with cases selected from the standpoint of their suitability for the counselor at his present stage of professional development.

The growth of the counselor's personal security and competence in the use of counseling procedures is a major responsibility of the supervisor or instructor in this field. These two qualities are related. Competence in counseling casts out fear; love of the person who needs help casts out fear; the counselor's feeling of security helps to establish a good relation with the counselee; this relationship, in turn, helps to build security. The instructor or supervisor uses as much counseling skill in working with student-counselors as he expects them to use in approaching their counselees. Norman Fenton suggested some years ago that fifty hours of personal counseling be included as an intrinsic part of the education of every person preparing to teach. This experience of being skillfully counseled is even more important for the person preparing to counsel others, or to help teachers improve the quality of their contacts with students.

The study of counseling technics can increase the competence of a counselor naturally sensitive to persons. It shows him channels through which his sensitivity can operate. This is not to imply that the counselor thereby becomes technic centered. By acquainting the counselor-in-training with various technics and schools of counseling and by helping him to acquire the basic theory common to different counseling theories, the instructor helps the counselor to gain basic orientation. Within this framework, the counselor then selects the particular technics which he feels are congenial to him and appropriate to the kind of cases with which he will deal. The counselor studies and practices these technics until he can use them successfully. Having this definite knowledge of each technic—its reliability and validity, the situations in which it can be used most effectively, and the way in which one technic supplements another—the counselor will avoid the diffuse, vague, insecure approach characteristic of one who lacks specific knowledge and skill. As the counselor becomes more competent, he becomes freer and more secure. During the war and postwar period, short training courses for counselors were developed but not adequately evaluated. Blocksma and Porter (8) described the curriculum, teaching methods, and learnings in a six-week program for training counselors for the Veterans Administration.

Aim and Organization of This Volume

The aim of this volume—Volume Three in the series of personnel work in college and secondary schools—is to supply some of the basic knowledge of counseling technics that will better prepare counselors for actual practice in counseling. Volume Two in the series (*Behavior and Back-*

ground of Students in College and Secondary Schools [36]) has given a background for the study of technics, insofar as it has brought together information that helps counselors to interpret the facts that they have obtained from observation, interviews, tests, and other technics. Too frequently personnel workers do not know the significance of the facts which they have accumulated about students. Group technics have been treated in the fourth volume of this series (39).

This revision of *Counseling Technics in College and Secondary Schools* is broader in scope than that of the original volume. This first chapter has presented an overview and orientation to counseling technics.

Beginning with Chapter Two, each technic will be described and analyzed as follows:

1. A description of the technic illustrated, so far as space permits, with concrete examples.
2. Principles underlying the use of the technic; theoretical basis.
3. An evaluation of the technic—its reliability and validity. The counselor needs to have some assurance that he can rely on the information he obtains by means of observation, questionnaires, interviews, or other technics. He must recognize, however, that the common statistical concepts of reliability do not apply to most of the counseling technics. The individual may not respond in approximately the same way another time with the same worker (*retest* reliability) because he may actually have changed; each of the two different results may be true for the time at which it was obtained. Records of complex behavior made by two different observers and interpretation of the same case history (*comparable form* reliability) may not agree because of differences in the workers' points of view—the subjective element that necessarily enters into so many technics. Comparison of one part of the interview, Rorschach test, questionnaire, or other data with the other part (*split-halves* reliability) does not apply to any instrument in which there is progression in the responses as a whole.

Validity—whether the instrument measures what it purports to measure and whether what is measured is significant in understanding the individual (28)—is still more difficult to establish. In most of the counseling technics there are two kinds of validity—validity of the original record and validity of its interpretation. The main difficulty in determining validity is that of obtaining any accurate criterion or measure of characteristics studied. Some of the attempts to validate the technic will be mentioned in each chapter.

Counselors with a statistical background will be interested in viewing the problem of reliability with the aid of the technic of factor analysis. If the counselor were studying one specific, concrete type of behavior,

and observed or measured it at various times, using a number of observers and methods of recording, then, provided his samples of this behavior were sufficiently comprehensive and representative, the true reliability of any one sample would be its general factor saturation (the amount of the general factor—its correlation with the hypothetical general factor running through all the samples). Suppose, however, he were studying some general personality trait. This could hardly be defined so concretely as specific behavior, but it could be regarded as a combination of numerous specific types of behavior and attitudes, feelings, impressions made on others. Again, therefore, one could measure it most effectively by collecting a comprehensive set of samples of such behaviors, attitudes, etc., and making a factor analysis. In this instance, the validity of any such sample would be its general factor loading or saturation.

4. Difficulties, problems, and possible dangers in the use of the technic.
5. A consideration of situations in which the technic can be appropriately used; its value in counseling.
6. Bibliography of research articles and significant theoretical articles.

Concluding Statement

As each technic is described, analyzed, and discussed, the reader should get a growing sense of a developing, integrated instrumentality for understanding persons and helping them to understand themselves as fully and accurately as possible on the counseling level. The reader will realize that there are deeper levels of interpretation beyond his present skill, and will be content to be a competent counselor rather than an ill-equipped psychotherapist.

The last statement implies a continuum between counseling and psychotherapy (37). At one extreme is the kind of developmental counseling that should be carried on in every school and college. At the other extreme is the treatment given by the well-trained and experienced psychiatrist or psychoanalyst. In between are various kinds and degrees of face-to-face situations in which growth takes place.

Nor can therapy be separated from diagnosis in any clear-cut way. In order to assist an individual in developing his best potentialities, the counselor should know what these potentialities are. The counselee, having attained a clearer idea of his more acceptable self, has a new outlook on other people and on the world as he has experienced it. And because he perceives situations differently, he responds differently. This reorganization of his field of perception often leads to improved work and better social relationships.

CHAPTER II

Observation

Rousseau wrote in 1833, "Watch nature long, and observe your pupil carefully before you say a word to him" (32:58). Recently Bristow (10) stated that "knowing the pupils is the first responsibility of the school."

Behavior is a reflection of personality (12, 25). Everything a student says or does throws light on the kind of person he is. The observer's responsibility is to catch significant behavior, record it accurately, and later interpret it in relation to the situation in which it occurred and other information about the person observed. Today observation is being used more and more effectively in the classroom (3) and, as a result, teachers are becoming more sensitive to their students' development.

Counselors recognize observation as basic to other personnel technics. Rating is directed, summarized observation. Observations made during an interview are frequently as significant as the conversation. In testing, observation of the behavior of the subject while he is taking the test helps the examiner to interpret the test results and also gives him additional significant information. The questionnaire may be validated by systematic observation.

In addition to supplementing and reinforcing knowledge gained through other technics, observation plays a role of its own. By observing students in many situations, the teacher and counselor can gain an understanding of personality trends that have not been adequately studied by means of tests or other technics.

Kinds of Observation

Teachers and counselors have always made casual observations of their students, and have often related them in anecdotal form. We are

now witnessing a trend toward more accurate observation of individuals' behavior, more systematic recording of it, and more astute interpretation. By these means the value of observation is being increased.

Observation may be direct or indirect. Direct observation is like a photograph; it shows the facts. Indirect observation looks beyond the facts to their meaning; it is concerned with the inferences that may be drawn about something we cannot observe directly.

The most casual and superficial form of observation is represented by the haphazard attention that harassed teachers give to students in large classes. They merely note any behavior that seems significant to them. Though most of these observations are never recorded, they help to build the teacher's or counselor's impression of the individual. The most scientific form of observation is found in the trained psychologist's records of children's behavior. Over a period of years these observations build up valuable developmental pictures such as Gesell's studies (15) have contributed to the field of child psychology.

ANECDOTAL AND BEHAVIOR DIARY RECORDS

The anecdotal record is

a record of some significant item of conduct, a record of an episode in the life of the student; a word picture of the student in action; . . . a word snapshot at the moment of the incident; any narrative of events in which the student takes such a part as to reveal something which may be significant about his personality (31:22).

Anecdotes also reveal interests, which may be expected to change over a period of time (33).

Four types of observational record may be distinguished. The first and simplest type is that in which the teacher merely records the observation as objectively as possible without any interpretation included in the written record. The ability to describe without interpreting requires practice, but it can be developed. The effort has been made (30:29) to confine the term *anecdotal record* to this form. The Committee on Anecdotal Records (30:30) strongly recommended that the interpretation of the observational material and any recommendations made or carried out should be recorded on the reverse side of the sheet, not in the descriptive account. The second type is the record of an observation with an interpretation. The third type adds a recommendation to the description and interpretation. A fourth form of anecdotal record consists of a free, running mixture of observation and comment. The last form has the advantage of being the way teachers naturally think about the students and is likely to include some details of marked sig-

nificance that might be omitted in the attempt to follow a prescribed form. On the other hand, the method of clearly differentiating actual observation from interpretation is more useful for the study of the records by a number of persons.

The method of observation may be made clearer by a few examples of anecdotal records:

In math. class I explained to Bob the theory of the multiplication and division of radicals and changing from one order to another. I did it very quickly and worked one problem very quickly for him. Not once did he stop me or ask a question. When I was through he smiled and said, "Yes, I see," and started to work without any difficulty. This is really only one illustration of how quickly he grasps what I tell him to do—it is his customary reaction.

Jane's report cards were marked today. Although very good, her marks were lower than usual and upset her terribly. She sulked all during class period and refused to work, answer questions, etc. In the homeroom she was cross, slammed desks and books and paid no attention to what she was asked to do (30:46-47).

The following record was made of a tenth-grade high school boy during a period in study hall:

9:20—Jim came in, sat down noisily—no books.

9:21—Grabbed bulletin and read it for five minutes.

9:26—Tossed bulletin on desk and just sat.

9:35—Came to desk for piece of scratch paper, and just hung around until told to go back to his seat.

9:45—Threw paper on floor.

9:46—I asked him if he had any work and he said "no." On further questioning he said he didn't like to study.

9:50—I then gave him a spelling list and asked him to study. He said he wouldn't —! I sent him to counselor. *Exit Jim!*

End of period—Not back in class yet. They are trying to get him a job.

This record is objective and specific, but it suggests more about the teacher and the school situation than about the boy. It does little more than raise the question: Why does this boy behave in this way?

A series of anecdotal records more useful in counseling is represented by the following excerpts from the record of a sixth-grade girl, 11 years 5 months old, below average in mental ability and achievement. The teacher recorded her observations day by day and, in a parallel column, made critical comments on each observation:

Record of Observation

Critical Comment

September 12

1. Ellen worked steadily for fifteen minutes on her spelling for tomorrow.

1. Specific detail; significant as a possible recurrent pattern.

Record of Observation

2. *She seems to feel impelled to study rather than to join in other activities.*
3. Her behavior is *probably the result of pressure at home.*
4. After she had studied her spelling, she tried unsuccessfully to get someone to check the words for her. The children refused.
5. She looked hesitantly at the teacher but *dropped the idea of asking for help* when the teacher made no move toward her.
6. Ellen then cleaned out her desk, which was already in perfect order. She arranged her materials carefully.
7. She sharpened her pencils and emptied the pencil sharpener. Then she sat at her desk to watch the girls playing "Snake Eyes." When she moved closer, the girls made no comment but did not try to include her.
8. Toward the end of the period Betty left and Corinne said, "Come on, Ellen, you can take Betty's place."
9. Although she had been invited *condescendingly*,
10. Ellen played happily for the rest of the period.
11. She was the first to heed the bell and the other girls let her put the game away.

October 15

12. Ellen spent the first few minutes watching the other children *to see what they were going to do*. She saw Pat get drawing equipment and so she got board, paper, and chalk. She got the book the teacher was reading to the class and, after paging through it, found a picture to

Critical Comment

2. The teacher's opinion with very little supporting evidence.
3. A purely interpretive statement which should be made only after a much more comprehensive study of the situation.
4. It is significant to know how other children respond to her; but how did she try to get the other children's co-operation? What did she do? What did she say? What did they say?
5. Teacher interpretation. (Assuming a correct interpretation, was the teacher's action wise?)
6. This item is of possible significance and may also give information about the teacher's standards.
7. Accurate reporting of a significant event.
8. There is little value in reporting this conversation unless Ellen's response were given.
9. Teacher's own reactions. How was the invitation given?
10. Too general. What did she do, say?
11. Was putting the game away considered a privilege or a disagreeable task?
12. Suggests that the teacher had already decided that the child has no initiative and was noting behavior that fit her preconceived idea.

Record of Observation	Critical Comment
copy. Her first attempt was spoiled when someone joggled her arm.	
13. She looked annoyed, but said nothing and started over again.	13. Teacher is implying annoyance; Ellen's look might have been an expression of discouragement, or other feelings; more information would be helpful: Did the other child say anything? How did Ellen respond? Was it an accident?
14. When she had finished her picture, she brought it to the teacher for approval.	14. Indications of dependence on adult are important, but additional insight might be gained by a more detailed description of behavior.
15. It was very good.	15. General evaluation; what were the specific good features?
16. She wanted to put it on the bulletin board and spent the last few minutes mounting the picture.	16. An example of recorded observation that, along with other evidence, casts some light on Ellen's growing self-confidence.
17. She was much agitated when she found that she was not ready when the last bell rang.	17. This comment evaluates Ellen's conduct rather than reporting how she showed her agitation. It could mean anything from crying to going hurriedly to her seat.
18. I was much pleased because she wanted to put up her picture, since it is the first time she has been willing to call attention to herself in any way.	18. An expression of the teacher's attitude.
November 7	
19. Ellen got out the game of dominoes and played with four girls the entire period, talking noisily and laughing loudly. At the end of the period Ellen picked up her dominoes, put them in the box, and said, "I got them out so it's someone else's turn to put them away."	19. This detail can be compared with earlier behavior of classmates toward Ellen.
April 15	
20. Ellen and two other children had been working for some time in carrying out Ellen's idea for a wall border. Ellen went to the cupboard and got out her materials. Pat and Betty made no move to help. The following conversation took place:	20. This is a significant incident to report, and its value is enhanced by its exactness.

Record of Observation

Critical Comment

Ellen: Aren't you going to help?

Pat: I don't want to do that today. I haven't had any chance to draw.

Ellen: Well, then, Betty and I can do it if you don't want to help.

Betty: No, I'm going to draw, too. We can finish it tomorrow.

Ellen: But we've got to get it done. I told Miss S—we'd finish it today.

Betty: I don't want to.

Ellen: Oh, then I'll finish it my own self.

21. Ellen *worked the whole period in putting up the border which was simple and stereotyped but pretty*. The other children liked it and Ellen *glowed at their praise*. This is the first self-initiated project Ellen has done, with others working under her direction. Her remarks to Pat and Betty are indicative of her growing independence.

21. In this section the teacher falls short of good reporting. Her statements are a hodgepodge of specific descriptions of behavior and teacher reactions and interpretation.

The anecdotes and anecdotal summaries reported in Jones's *Development in Adolescence* (20) and in *Helping Teachers to Understand Children* (3) will further increase the reader's sensitivity to good and poor features of teachers' recorded observation of students as individuals and as members of social groups.

At the Rochester Athenaeum and Mechanics Institute, each faculty member supplied at least one anecdotal record per week for each student in his classes. In some schools it has been demonstrated that in about fifteen minutes a teacher can write six anecdotal records a day. However, teachers should not be forced to write a certain number of anecdotal records each day; such a requirement usually causes antagonism. When teachers see the value of these records, they will be glad to make them.

Instead of recording isolated incidents about different students, the teacher, group leader, or counselor may make notes day after day on the behavior of a particular individual. This form of record shows changes and trends in behavior. It encourages an attitude of studying trends rather than making appraisals prematurely.

A variation of the behavior diary record is the study of particular units of behavior in the matrix of a continuous log of the individual's activities. Bott (9) believes this all-inclusive diary record is superior to

fragmentary accumulations of factual observation, because it makes possible an interpretation of each action in its context (9:12-13). Nesbitt (24) obtained information on student and child relationships in the nursery school by using a running account, plus a check list of the aspects of behavior to be observed.

The following account is a homeroom teacher's attempt to use daily observation in a case study of a pupil who caused home and school considerable perplexity.

At the time of the writing of this behavior diary record, Tommy was sixteen years old. He was described by his teacher as having "more energy than any six, more charm and downright good nature than most, and the manners of a cavalier. He is breezy, and puts gray hair in your head but keeps your heart warm. I like him."

His father was a carpenter who was killed by a falling tree when Tommy was ten years old. Tommy saw him killed. After his father's death, he went to live with an aunt who was married and had two grown daughters. His mother obtained professional work in the home town. When Tommy was fifteen he returned to live with his mother in one room. She found him bewildering and strenuous.

According to a group intelligence test, his IQ was 100.

The following excerpts are taken from a much more complete behavior diary record kept by his homeroom teacher:

- September—At first he prefaced all his remarks with, "When I was in _____ [the town in which he lived prior to his return home]." After the first week the boys fidgeted and looked bored when Tommy did this.
- He doesn't stay at a task. He must be on the floor, on the move. At the first difficulty he calls out, "Miss A____, I can't do this. I don't know how."
- October —Every task assigned is completed in the minimum of time. Tommy then reads. A request to check or do the work over rates a scowl. Any improvement in work done over is negligible.
- The boys like Tommy. He plays good soccer.
- November—On a class trip, Tommy's loud talking made us conspicuous on the streetcar. From the back of the car he shouted, "Miss A____, here is a seat for you." I was at the front of the car. Some lads near by reproved him. He scowled.
- He had a paper route. When asked why he quit, he said, "Deliver papers six days a week for \$2.25—not enough money."
 - For weeks he has seemed lethargic in the afternoon. When I commented on his disheveled appearance, he said, "Miss A____, I take on all comers in the yard at noon. Today I beat up six." He smiled and patted his biceps.
- December—Tommy has asked to be allowed to bring his lunch again. He says it is lonely eating alone.

- January —When I asked him about his holidays, he said, "I visited my cousins. Did I ever have fun! I ran them all ragged. I did something every morning, every afternoon, and every night. Were my cousins ever tired. I wasn't a bit."
- The metalwork teachers say that Tommy chooses to make frivolous things like bracelets and rings. His workmanship is poor; he hurries too much. He always wants to make something else.
- He asked if he had any chance of passing this year. When told that too great speed and carelessness were going to mean failure, he said, "I'll show you I can do better." But by the following day he had forgotten the resolution.
- February —At noon, I met Tommy and a classmate. When I asked where they were going, Tommy said, "To the bowling alley. We go every noon. Bill is sure a champ."
- Tommy turned out to square dance practice today. The best of the volunteers are to take part in a public demonstration. Tommy was ecstatic. He asked if a certain girl could be his partner. Later he wanted another girl, but finally returned to his first choice. Reason: "Boy, can she swing!"
- March —Tommy has joined the air cadets. He wore his uniform today and was too uniform conscious to concentrate on arithmetic.
- He joined a woodwork hobby group at the church and solicited orders from his teacher.
- He made a fine tray in the school shop. The teacher says he will not stay at his bench, but likes to chat and help others.
- Easter holidays—Tommy said his holidays are boring . . . there is no one to play with. I invited him to rake my lawn. This he did well and quickly.
- When I asked about his mother, he said, "Mum worries about me. The fortuneteller told her I wasn't happy living with her." "Well, are you?" I asked. "Sure," he said.
- April —When our class has art, Miss M_____ is teaching dancing in the gym below. Tommy said, "Isn't that interesting music? Does every art class have music to work to?"
- The class is doing a lumbering project in the art room. Tommy is leader of a group who are to build a lumbering town. He has them working endlessly on little houses, but hasn't yet had them plan the village or determine what houses will be necessary.
- When Tommy got his report today, he said, "Miss A_____, I'd like to show this to Mum tonight, but I'm too busy to go over [to the hospital where his mother had had an operation]. It is the first decent report I've had."

It will be noted that these anecdotes give information about important aspects of adolescent behavior: relationships with boys and girls of his own age, relationship with his mother, work experience, habits of work, interests and hobbies, response to failure and success, and other attitudes.

The teacher has made effective use of direct quotations and concrete descriptions of behavior. Some of the reports, however, are too vague and subjective. For example, the statement, "The boys like Tommy. He plays good soccer" leaves much to the imagination of the reader. Do they like him because he plays a good game? Is that the only thing they like about him? How do they show that they like him? What position does he play on the team? What is the secret of his success—is it his ability to score, to make flashy plays, to be regular at practice? In the anecdote about the class trip the teacher gave no basis for her statement that Tommy's loud talking made the group conspicuous on the streetcar. How did Miss A— know they were conspicuous? Perhaps she was merely self-conscious. How did the lads reprove Tommy? What did they say? What did his scowl mean—chagrin at not being recognized by Miss A—? annoyance at being "reproved" by other boys? feelings hurt by some other remarks? Words such as *minimum*, *untidy*, *well done*, *quickly*, *objectionable* can be variously interpreted. Some words like *frivolous* seem to imply condemnation. More detail about how and when and why Tommy behaved as he did and how others responded to his behavior would make the behavior diary record still more enlightening. This is the most common criticism of teachers' observation.

Like anecdotal records in general, this behavior diary record raises more questions than it answers. It suggests problems on which the boy needs help. Among these are lack of male companions, no privacy (as he is living in one room with his mother), mother ill and worried about him, poor dietary arrangements for a growing boy. This uncovering of problems is an important value of anecdotal records. Another value is their contribution to the personality picture of this boy. The teacher's recorded observation supplies some evidence that

1. He is sociable.

He asked to be allowed to bring his lunch again.

He likes to chat and help others in the manual training room.

He finds holidays boring—no one to play with.

2. He needs to clarify his relationship with his mother.

"Mum worries about me."

"I'd love to show my report to Mum."

3. He has both positive and negative relationships with other boys.

Boys like him.

He is boss of a group who are working on a project.

He sometimes annoys others.

4. He shows little evidence of serious purpose and responsibility.

"I'll show you I can do better" . . . the resolution was forgotten,
"Deliver papers six days a week for \$2.25—not enough money."

5. He likes sports.
6. He has excessive energy.
7. He does not usually stick to one task.
8. He does not take criticism well.

A request to recheck or redo reports rates a scowl.

9. His work habits need improvement—but his last report indicates progress.

SCIENTIFIC OBSERVATION OF SIMPLE UNITS OF BEHAVIOR

In this form of observation the observer selects certain kinds of behavior for study; he plans to make accurate records of instances of this behavior in a natural situation. For example, if the behavior of adolescent boys at dances were selected for study, the observer would make records of individual boys during a dance. He might either make a running account of the boys' behavior, or use the technic of time sampling.

The main features of the time-sampling technic are the selection of a specific kind of action to be observed, and the systematic recording of this kind of behavior at stated intervals of time. The number of times the action occurs during repeated time units yields a quantitative score (27). High reliability can be obtained for these limited observations, and it can be made still higher by increasing the number of observation periods. The optimum length of period varies with the type of activity being studied. Brueckner and Ladenberg (11) ascertained the efficacy of time samplings of one-, two-, three-, four-, and five-minute intervals in the study of pupils' attention. They concluded that a supervisor or principal may secure a reasonably reliable index of junior and senior high school pupils' attention by observing them at intervals of four minutes or less. This technic lends itself well to the study of attention, talkativeness, aggressive behavior, and the like. Summaries of investigations on time sampling have been published in 1934 by Olson and Cunningham (27) and in 1943 by Arrington (5), and on observation methods of research in 1945 by Sells and Travers (33).

A variation of this kind of scientific observation is called *situational analysis*. The observer may begin with a situation instead of with an individual. For example, boys from thirteen to seventeen might be observed at different kinds of dances. The responses of persons to advertisements, the behavior of children turned loose in a museum, the conversation of students in bull sessions—these are examples of situational

analyses. The individual may be observed in a natural situation, unaware of being observed. In this type of observation it is difficult to get supplementary information about the individual, such as what he is thinking and feeling.

Sometimes a situation can be changed so that the effect of one factor added or eliminated can be studied. Examples of observation in a controlled situation are Piaget's *The Moral Judgment of the Child* (29), Berne's *An Experimental Investigation of Social Behavior Patterns in Young Children* (8), and Jack's *An Experimental Study of Ascendant Behavior in Pre-School Children* (17).

SCIENTIFIC OBSERVATION OF PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR

Thomas and her collaborators (39) abandoned the study of very simple units of behavior in favor of observing patterns of behavior toward materials, other persons, and the self. In one of the investigations reported, the technic of observation was applied to twenty adolescent boys in a trade school. "A sampling, not only of group behavior, but also of the behavior of individuals within the group" (39:74) was obtained. Lewin's well-known study of autocratic, democratic, and laissez-faire atmospheres (21) is another illustration of detailed observation of group interaction in three types of situations.

During the war, great progress was made in observation of individuals' patterns of behavior. For example, in the selection of personnel for the Office of Strategic Services the students were observed from the moment they arrived at the training center. The way they got out of the truck, the way they greeted the staff members, the way they shook hands, their conversation at meals, the way they sat in the classroom—leaning forward on the edge of the chair, or slouched against the wall, or comfortably alert in mind and body—the amount of talking they did in discussions and the forcefulness and intensity with which they spoke—these and many other observations revealed their personalities and contributed to the total picture of each student (26:67-69). Observations were also made in controlled situations. For example, a certain task such as crossing a river to transport a delicate range finder was clearly defined to several men. In observing them as they worked on these standardized problems, the instructors were able to note their energy and initiative, effective intelligence, social relations, and leadership and physical ability (26:94-101). In schools and colleges, standardized situations may similarly be set up in which valuable observations can be made. The advantage of observation in a controlled situation is that the reactions of different students under the same conditions can be compared.

How to Observe

Observation of any kind involves the observer, the person observed, the situation in which the observation is made, the process of observation, and the use and interpretation of the observation.

THE OBSERVER

The observer's attitude toward persons affects his observation of them. If he really wants to understand them, he will observe them with sympathy. If he is really interested in them, he will observe them as intently as he observes characters in a play or a movie.

The observer's presence may influence the behavior to be observed. In the presence of strangers some students may be on their best, others on their worst behavior. Some students, especially in schools of nursing, feel self-conscious under the scrutiny to which they are subjected. This feeling may be decreased if the student is encouraged to take a more active part in his own appraisal. From the guidance point of view, the modification of daily behavior in a desirable direction as the result of observation is all to the good. For research purposes, however, the influence of the observer must be controlled. One way of doing this is by using the one-way vision room. In that situation the observer can watch the person without his being aware of the observer's presence.

If the observer is interested in certain kinds of behavior or has a certain background and point of view, he may not record or even see the other side of the picture. Observation is of necessity selective; the observer cannot note everything. What he observes is likely to be colored by his prejudices, unconscious biases, or enthusiasms. He reveals himself in the observations he makes. Anecdotal records frequently tell more about the teachers writing them than about the students.

Some of the most valuable observations about students are made by persons who normally work closely with them. These observations are intimate and are made against a background of understanding.

Though the observer obviously needs better-than-average sensory awareness, he may extend his own vision and hearing by motion pictures, stenotype records, and sound recordings—methods far more valid than recording by hand. He should be critically aware of his own limitations, the difficulties in the situation, and weaknesses in his procedure.

Characteristics of the good observer have been summarized by Symonds (38:24-30), and more recently and briefly by Burt:

Interviewing and observing require a knowledge of techniques quite as much as mental testing. The success of the observer depends partly on personal apti-

tude, partly on practical experience, but most of all on adequate training. The technical points for which training is more especially needed include a knowledge of the chief traits, tendencies and types to be noted, their technical names and definitions, their symptoms and syndromes, the use of rating-scales, the construction of scientific reports (including character-sketches), in short, a knowledge of what to look for and how to elicit and describe it, and, last but not least, the validation of the different procedures used and of the observer's own judgments (12:120).

THE PERSON OBSERVED

More observations have been reported of preschool children than of older children, adolescents, or adults. This is probably owing to three reasons: there is more opportunity to observe younger children in a natural setting; the younger child is usually less self-conscious and aware of being observed; the younger child's actions express more directly his thoughts and feelings. The adolescent and adult have learned to conceal their inner world; their behavior is less likely to be spontaneous and natural.

Since the person observed is many sided, the observer has the problem of focusing his attention on the kinds of behavior that are most helpful to an understanding of him. He should resist the tendency to observe only "bad" or dramatic actions, or only the student responses that reflect credit on himself. Among the kinds of behavior that seem to be of special significance for an individual's development and adjustment are:

1. His relationship to the group—Is he accepted or rejected by others? Does he co-operate with others in work and play? What is his influence on others? What is his attitude toward his home and family? The first impression he makes is important. A facial expression of friendliness, openness, and good nature wins an immediately favorable response. In psychiatric examinations the habitual facial expression is carefully noted. Carelessness in personal appearance, posture, physical defects, and mannerisms have diagnostic significance and influence the individual's social adjustment.
2. His work habits—To what kind of distractions is he sensitive? What evidence does he show of ability to learn?
3. His special abilities, interests, and activities outside of school—Where does he go? What does he do? With whom does he like to be?
4. His health habits and daily routine—Are there signs of illness, malnutrition, or physical defects?
5. His response to difficulty, failure, and criticism—Is he open-minded to suggestions for his improvement? How does he respond to his own failure in school and to the success of his fellow students?
6. His sense of responsibility—Does he fulfill the obligations he accepts?

7. His initiative and leadership—What kind of influence does he have on his fellows?

Peller (28) prepared a check list to guide teachers' observation toward items that are frequently significant. Even a skillful teacher may fail to observe behavior that is "indispensable for an understanding of the child" (28:285). Alsop (2) likewise suggested signs of neurotic behavior that teachers could recognize.

Students may learn to participate in observation and record keeping. Without becoming too introspective, they can be taught to collect data about many of their problems of learning and adjustment in school and college. Thus used, observation is a basic technic for developing self-knowledge and self-direction.

SITUATIONS IN WHICH TO OBSERVE

Observations may be made in many kinds of situations—in schools and colleges, in camps and playgrounds, in the home where patterns of family relationships may become apparent, in interviews and in individual and group testing, and in business and industry where observation may take the form of time and motion studies of foreman's ratings.

Observation in the classroom. In the classroom the teacher may obtain valuable understanding of individuals through observation. The following list indicates some of the main kinds of behavior that may be observed in the classroom:

Observation of learning abilities

Rapidity with which student comprehends printed material

Rapidity, accuracy, and expression in oral reading

Note vocabulary, ability to think independently about what is read, etc.

Indication of ability in other subjects, as, hesitancy or failure to attack problem in arithmetic

Kind and number of questions asked—relevant to the discussion; showing originality; showing grasp of subject; trivial or important

Kind of answers given—relevant; showing originality; showing grasp of subject

Eagerness to answer many questions versus a tendency to answer only when called upon

Deficiency in one or more skills as compared with the other students in the class

Observation of study habits during school periods

Conception of study as a process of memorizing

Record of attention and distraction (Morrison's technic)

Promptness in beginning to study

Persistence in work—for example, finishing the problem on which he is working rather than stopping the minute the bell rings

Use of bibliographical helps in reference work

Apparent lack of interest in school work

Cheating—copying children's papers on test or copying their home work

Inability to comprehend directions

Observation of personal characteristics

Physical defects—evidences of difficulty in vision or hearing; holding book or paper nearer to the eyes than twelve inches; evidences of malnutrition; poor posture, apparent fatigue, special deformities

Skill in social relations.

Emotional control and responsiveness and behavior difficulties—temper outbursts, extreme aggressiveness, insistence upon holding center of stage; lack of usual inhibitions; interference of other behavior with class work; shyness, feelings of inferiority; marked self-consciousness, withdrawing behavior, sullenness, defiance, teasing and bullying, moodiness, marked overactivity, unpopularity with other children, apparently excessive daydreaming

Speech difficulties and language handicap

Unnecessary tardiness

Nervous habits—tics, etc.

"Queerness" in other ways—giving odd responses, being apparently unconscious of irrelevancy of his remarks

Inferior performance in motor skills

Smith (36) listed the following criteria for choosing important types of behavior for teachers to observe in their students: (1) conduct which they can observe in their daily contacts with students; (2) behavior which is valuable in helping a particular student to make the most of himself, both individually and socially; (3) behavior which will "establish aims and emphases that will give direction to schooling, that will make education function as continuing guidance in the after lives of American children" (36:96); and (4) habits and attitudes that can be influenced during school years.

The *Winnetka Scale for Rating School Behavior and Attitudes* (42, 43) is a useful guide to teachers' observation. It is built on situations which they meet daily.

Observation in informal groups. In the more informal atmosphere of the club or camp, the observer can learn about the members' relationships with one another. The staff of the Adolescent Growth Study, Institute of Child Welfare, University of California (20:46-64;20a:37), made an important contribution to the study of adolescents by observ-

ing junior and senior high school pupils in a clubhouse where they were free to choose their activities. The preadolescents preferred to read by themselves or to join art classes or other organized groups, whereas those who had passed puberty formed informal groups of boys and girls and were interested in dancing and other heterosexual activities. Out of observation of a club or other informal group may grow an understanding of individual differences among adolescents which might shed light on factors such as these: the individual's physical appearance and vitality, the first impression he creates, his boy-girl relationships, the response of others to him, his ability to learn, his adaptability in different social situations, his reaction to criticism by adults and by his peers, his sensitivity to other persons and his attitude toward them, his resourcefulness and poise. More recently, Newman (25) made an extensive study of adolescent personality, using observation as a major method. She emphasized the importance of simultaneous, relatively brief observations by several adults in many varied situations (25:70).

Observation in the home. In the home, parents have the best opportunity to observe. Someone should make a study of the possible methods of helping parents understand their children—a study comparable to the work of the American Council on Education with teachers (3). When making home visits, teachers have the opportunity to observe home conditions, including the relationship of parents and child.

Observation during interviews. In all kinds of interviews, observation plays an important role. The interviewer's first impression of the person; his observation of facial expression, expressive movements and mannerisms; evidences of neglect of his person; indications of tension, anxiety, fear, suspicion, and other feelings—all may be significant clues. The interviewer's skill in reflecting the counselee's feelings and in judging his readiness for interpretation depends a great deal on his ability to observe. In the selection of personnel for the Office of Strategic Services, to which reference has already been made, observation of the student's behavior during the interview gave important information about his reaction patterns:

Was he frank, open, and sure of himself? Was he timorous, uncertain, and lacking in self-esteem? Was he friendly or withdrawn? . . . Did he manifest an interest in learning about himself or was he evasive, rigid, and inclined to rationalize his personality liabilities? (26:116)

The interview served both "as a guide to further observation" and as a check on previous observation.

In connection with employment interviews, Sheppard said that "a few concise, significant comments relative to the interviewer's personal

evaluation of the applicant, recorded on the application form at the time of initial registration often prove to be invaluable in actual placement work" (34:445). A much more elaborate procedure for evaluating supervisory personnel (13) is based on observation of acting executives' actual behavior in an experimental controlled interview. Their responses were carefully recorded (a) in a permissive, accepting atmosphere, (b) to fifteen-second pauses in the interview, and (c) to aggressive talkers. These observations were summarized in the form of curves measuring subjects' activity, speed and adjustment to interruptions, initiative-dominance, interviewers' adjustment, and "free give-and-take." This method was reported to differentiate between acting executives and a control group who had not been selected for executive positions.

Observation during testing. In individual testing, the counselor has the opportunity to observe the student under standardized conditions. In a controlled situation such as during a Binet test, the responses of different individuals can be observed and compared. Frequently these observations are of more help than the test scores in understanding the individual. The examiner can observe the person's physical appearance, speech, mannerisms, expressive movements, attitude toward the examiner and toward difficulty, and his signs of emotional stress. For example, the psychologist's observation made, during a Wechsler-Bellevue test, of a twenty-year-old boy who was unable to communicate verbally in social situations, was most helpful to the counselor: "Subject was ill at ease but blossomed out after reassurance; he is easily discouraged but has a certain tenacity that causes him to finish what he begins." In the encouraging atmosphere of the test, his ability to communicate was indicated by a verbal IQ of 115 (the performance IQ was only 89), and his need for a satisfying relationship with another person was clearly suggested. The following observation of a younger child made during a Binet test likewise illustrates how observation supplements test results:

"Johnny White, aged 7 years and 6 months, was called by his teacher to go with the school psychologist to take an intelligence test. She told him he would have great fun. Johnny got up directly, took his pencil, and came towards the psychologist, smiling and saying that he was going to have "fun, fun, fun." He was heavily built, and a little tall for his age. His hair stood up as though it was uncombed, but his clothes were neat. His mouth hung open and he had a vacant expression on his face. When he smiled, his face wore a silly expression. In following the examiner to the testing room he repeatedly remarked, 'Oh my, this is fun, this is going to be real, real fun.' His speech resembled that of a much younger child.

"In the testing situation he displayed eagerness to get started. He talked much about the fun he was having and of matters unrelated to the test. He passed all the items on the six-year level, but failed all on the seven-year level.

"After the second item on the seven-year level, he twice said he wanted to go back to his classroom because he did not want to miss reading. He repeatedly looked out of the window, shifted around in his chair, and talked about matters unrelated to the testing situation. Once he said that he was tired. Interspersed with this conversation were remarks to the effect that he was having great fun. It was found necessary to give him three rest periods during the forty-five minutes of testing in order to get his attention.

"Interpretation: Johnny obtained an IQ of 80 on the test. In the light of the above observations, the examiner questioned the validity of this result and raised the following questions: May not the poor score be due at least in part to a very poor attention span? Is this child emotionally disturbed and immature, and therefore unable to achieve to the maximum of his ability? Is this a very submissive child who takes over values and opinions from his environment and believes them to be his own? (He expressed verbal enthusiasm for the test, but showed clearly that he would rather be out of the testing situation.) The observation during the testing period therefore raised questions that need thorough investigation."

Observation during individual testing played a large part in the two-day program for officer selection both here and abroad during World War II. Psychologists set up individual testing situations, social situations, and experimental situations in which the candidates were required to meet various kinds of military emergencies and were given opportunities for leadership. In these situations the trained observer could ascertain the individual's reaction to difficulty, his method of attacking problems, his response to strangers, his vocabulary and conversational ability, and his ways of mobilizing himself in response to a definite task, either familiar or unfamiliar to him.

In the group testing situation, observation is also necessary. By watching the students at work, the examiner can note any lapses of attention or failure to follow directions that may help to explain scores in individual cases.

Need for observation in different clearly defined situations. By observing an individual in many different situations, the personnel worker will obtain a truer picture of his personality. The student himself will profit by studying variations in his behavior under different circumstances.

Errors in interpretation are lessened if there is available a wide sampling of observations made at different times and places and by different observers (30:32-33).

Because a person's behavior is influenced by external conditions as well as by his predispositions, the observer should record the setting and range of his activities. For example, the behavior of a student in an interview varies with the personality and manner of the interviewer; the behavior of students in a club or class depends on whether the prevalent atmosphere is democratic, autocratic, or *laissez faire*.

Observational records may be written by the students about themselves or about other students, or jointly by student and teacher. The latter may take the form of (a) the recorded observation, (b) the observer's comment, and (c) the student's comment on the teacher's observation or the teacher's comment on the student's observation.

THE PROCESS OF OBSERVATION

The first step in observation is to decide on the kinds of significant behavior that may be observed in a given situation. This decision is not subjective and personal; it is based on a knowledge of child and adolescent development. While possessed of general criteria for selecting significant behavior, the observer should also be sensitive to the uniqueness of individuals. Otherwise, he may miss the most important organizing factor in a particular personality. This sensitivity to what is important is acquired through the reading of psychology, detailed case studies, and recorded interviews, and through self-knowledge and a continuous evaluation of one's own counseling experience. For research purposes, the investigator may make a list of the kinds of behavior to be observed, and may prepare a mimeographed form on which the observer can record the frequency or duration of each kind of behavior during set intervals of time.

The second step is to get a good vantage point for observing the individual—for noting both exceptional and typical behavior. Observers should resist the tendency to pay attention to spectacular or problem conduct to the neglect of positive behavior. Harris (16) found that 76 per cent of all items reported by the teachers studied were about negative, or what they considered undesirable, behavior. Observers may frequently learn more from observing other students' responses to the individual than from direct observation of him.

The third step is to record the most significant behavior observed, either at the time or immediately after observation. Recording relieves the observer from the strain of trying to remember multifarious details, and enables him to pool his observation with that of others. Knowledge

of an individual stored only in the memory cannot easily be transferred to others who could use it for the individual's good. Without recorded observation, the day-by-day picture of the development of growing persons cannot be built up.

The observer may improve his observational procedures in other ways: He should consistently record exact descriptions and avoid reading his own feelings into the behavior. He should avoid using adjectives and adverbs like *lazy, mean, annoyed, shy, sullen*, etc. In such expressions, the observer is reading into the individual's manner or expression his own evaluation and interpretation; he is labeling behavior, not describing it. He should keep interpretation separate from the description of what he actually saw. He should also avoid making and recording "snap" judgments and generalizations. If he makes generalizations, he should support them by concrete descriptions. He should make appraisals of personality tendencies only when he has accumulated much evidence from various sources. Even then, the appraisal should be tentative, changing as the understanding of the individual changes.

Two forms of observational record are popular. One is the record made on standard 8½ by 11 inch paper. If the observational records are put directly into a cumulative record folder, it is desirable to have all the sheets of uniform size. The other form is much smaller—a 3 by 5 inch or a 4 by 6 inch card. The latter form seems to be more convenient if the observational records are kept together during the semester and are summarized at the end of a given period. Both forms should provide space for the date, the student's name, observer's name, the situation in which the observation was made, and some indication as to whether the observed behavior is exceptional or typical of the student. The reverse side should be devoted to explanation, interpretation, and recommendations (30:5).

The accuracy of observational records can be increased by the use of sound film. The lone observer is limited in his ability to observe; he cannot report everything that the person says and does, as well as the way he says and does it. He can report the quantitative aspect more accurately than the qualitative. It is impossible to describe in words the exact quality of a tone or expression, let alone the meaning that lies behind the words actually spoken. Another advantage of the camera and sound track is that they do not discriminate: a human observer must select the details to which he will attend. From one standpoint, however, the ability to be selective is an advantage; the observer can focus his attention on a certain behavior pattern. If two observers are available, comparison of their reports will give a third dimension—like looking through a stereopticon.

Characteristics of Good Observations

A good observation has been characterized as being "objective to a degree approximating that of an X-ray photograph" and "subjective to the degree that an artistically composed photograph is subjective. It sharply limits itself to a center of attention and subordinates inconsequential details" (31:25). Other characteristics (41) by which to judge records of observations are these:

1. The behavior recorded is related to important counseling objectives; it is of value to the persons using the records.
2. The exact and objective description of behavior is kept separate from interpretations and recommendations, which should be made on the basis of all the information available, not on a single observation.
3. The observer's interpretation is written separately from the description of the behavior; he distinguishes between fact and inference (7).
4. The record is cumulative: it shows trends in the student's behavior as seen by different persons under different circumstances. From time to time, a summary statement based on anecdotal records will have to be made so that the bulky detailed records may be discarded. The summary statement may contain trends in behavior or attitude, a few anecdotes to illustrate a generalization, and recommendations based on the needs indicated.

The Committee on Anecdotal Records listed the following criteria:

They should be brief; they should tell what actually happened; they should deal with a single situation even of long duration; they should be recorded individually (but may include the behavior of a small group); they should be described as a part of its setting or background; they should be drawn as frequently as possible from spontaneous actions; they should be written while the behavior is still vivid to the observer; attention of the reader must go to the significant part of the report; they should include descriptions of actual behavior of children in addition to their conversations; they should cover a wide range of the student's time, and should not be confined only to formal classroom situations; a collection of anecdotes about any one student should represent the writings of all observers who have frequent contact with him; and they should represent the purposes and desires of the learner and not the mechanical response to a teacher-dominated situation (30:30).

Common tendencies for the observer to avoid are these: to tell a good story, to make "snap" judgments, to give his own reactions, to label or characterize the individual, or to make generalizations or subjective and hasty appraisals on the basis of limited observation.

Interpretation of Observations

The observer as a person enters into the interpretation even more than into the making and recording of observations. His psychological in-

sight, as well as the completeness and accuracy of the records, determines their usefulness. Other persons to whom observational records are sent—teachers, administrators, and employers—are still more likely to fall into serious errors of interpretation. The following are common types of errors:

1. Making generalizations about an individual's personality from a single sample of his behavior. Obviously, the episode recorded might be quite out of line with the general tenor of his ways.
2. Assuming that all significant facets of a student's personality have been noted. Actually, important areas in which the student possesses marked ability or in which he is seriously deficient may have been unrecognized.
3. Neglecting to recognize inaccuracy in the recording of observations, or to note the influence of subjectivity and bias on the part of the observer.
4. Failing to consider the behavior observed as part of the individual's development as a whole, or to pay due attention to other information that would clarify the meaning of the behavior observed. As Sherman has written, "Only after an intensive study of a child can the observer determine the meaning of his behavior and the basis of his emotional reactions" (35:11).

Reliability and Validity of Observation

Science demands safeguards. One of these is the verification of observations made by a single person. Two or more observers should theoretically be in agreement. Agreement between observers is one form of reliability. Percentages of agreement, item by item, as high as 90 per cent between two persons observing the same individuals in the same situation have been reported. Percentages of agreement are difficult to interpret since they depend so largely on the number of categories of observation. Nesbitt (24) reported an agreement of 88 per cent between two observers, one taking longhand, the other shorthand records of nursery school children's sentences and expressions.

Instead of comparing his records with those of another, the observer may use a sound film as a criterion of accuracy. This kind of accuracy should be identical with general factor saturation mentioned on page 35.

Another kind of reliability is consistency within one observer's records over a period of time. However, this measure of reliability is also difficult to interpret because the behavior of the persons observed may actually change over the period of study. Reliability, or consistency, as shown by similarity between totals of odd and even time samples, is likewise unsatisfactory, especially when the behavior forms a progressive pattern.

The reliability of classification and interpretation of observed behavior has also been studied. Nesbitt (24) found a high agreement ($r = .91$ to $.97$) between two persons who classified the same recorded behavior as to whether it was a "contact" and whether the contact was dominative or integrative in nature. Ratings on ten patterns of behavior observed by five persons through a one-way vision screen for periods of five minutes showed a "surprisingly large" percentage of agreement (6). Other attempts to classify behavior observed in a school situation, however, yielded only about 50 per cent agreement (40). In studying the extent to which separate observers can interpret the specific behavior as expressing general traits, we are impinging on validity.

The reliability of observation varies with a number of factors: the length of time spent in observation, or the size of the sampling; the kind of behavior observed; the number of children and the number of kinds of behavior observed simultaneously; the conditions under which observations are made; and the training of the observer (27).

Casual observations have low reliability, whereas scientific observations using the time-sampling technic have high reliability. However, the gain in reliability obtained by narrowing the field of observation to a small detail of behavior may be offset by a loss in validity. Observations with low statistical reliability may, nevertheless, be helpful to the counselor in understanding an individual (19). In fact, as Olson and Cunningham (27) pointed out, the attempt to channel observations into categories or statistical descriptions may prevent the observer from describing adequately the dynamics of social interaction.

A modified time-sampling technic was used with good results by Anderson, Brewer, and Reed (4). Five-minute observations of each child in the class were made, the children being taken in alphabetic rotation throughout the day over a considerable period of time until each child had been observed a total of two hours. Percentages of agreement for two observers were high: Of the twenty-three categories of child behavior recorded only two had percentages of agreement below 33. On eighteen of the categories the agreement was 90 per cent or above; on ten it was 100 per cent.

A degree of consistency represented by correlations ranging from $.50$ to $.86$ was obtained by well-trained raters who attempted to evaluate anecdotal reports sent in by teachers for the first annual Science Talent Search (14). They found the chief sources of unreliability to be the long-recognized halo effect, variations in the valuation of items, failure to follow directions, and "over-solicitous human sympathy."

Observations should be valid; that is, they should correspond to the true characteristics of the person observed. For example, if an inter-

viewer, from his observation, describes the interviewee as anxious to make a good impression, and further observation, conversation, and reports from other persons show this to be true, the observation can be considered as valid. It is the validity of the interpretation of observations that presents the major problem as far as counselors are concerned.

Burt (12) studied the validity of observation by correlating assessments made by this method with the assessment made by a combination of methods—interview, tests, and observation in standardized situations. He concluded that observation in lifelike situations was the best method for the assessment of children's personality, and that another estimate by an independent observer increased both the reliability and validity. For the group of boys recommended for the Science Talent Search scholarship, the correlation between teachers' reported observations and the *Science Aptitude Examinations* and rank in high school class was only .21. This low correlation may indicate either that the validity of the anecdotal material was low or that it supplements rather than duplicates information from other sources (14).

Limitations of Observation

Observation is not without its limitations and dangers. It is trustworthy only to the extent that the observer has a stable, quantitative frame of reference and experience in observing in a given situation. The limitations of observation as a method of understanding individuals are these:

1. The bias of the observer, which has already been discussed.
2. The inadequacy of the sampling of behavior.

It is impossible to observe the individual as a whole; therefore, the observer must guard against taking a biased sampling. If a sampling is representative, the reliability of the observation is likely to increase with the size of the sampling. Persons who use anecdotal records have sometimes done much harm by giving undue emphasis to a single item of behavior.

3. Inaccuracy of reporting; delayed memory causes inaccuracy.
4. Difficulty in interpreting the meaning of the observed behavior. The same overt behavior may have quite different meanings to different individuals, and may, on different occasions, arise from quite different motivations.

Something may be done about each of these limitations. Observers may be better trained in the process of observation; observations by different persons in various situations may be pooled to reveal both the bias of the individual observer and actual variations of the student's behavior under different conditions. The accuracy of recording may be

increased by the practice of making nearly verbatim records at the time or immediately following the observation, or, still better, by the use of mechanical sound and visual devices. The significance of the observation may be ascertained if it is studied in the light of other information about the individual, including that from interviews in which he tries to understand his own behavior.

Values of Recorded Observation

Records of observation are valuable in identifying problems; they raise questions that lead to further study. For example, the observation that a pupil tore up his paper when the teacher criticized it suggests many questions: What was the relation between teacher and pupil? Just what happened; what did the teacher say? How does the pupil feel toward other pupils? How do they feel toward him? What were the home or neighborhood conditions? Was the pupil's physical condition a factor?

Skillful records of observation substitute exact descriptions of behavior for vague generalizations. They are useful to show trends in social and emotional development. They give information on the basic ways in which the person behaves under different circumstances.

They have diagnostic value, giving valuable indications of actual adjustment in life situations. It sometimes happens that a counselor's impression of a person in an interview is quite at variance with the way he is actually functioning at school or at home.

If the student knows the kind of behavior that is being observed, this knowledge may serve as an immediate goal or incentive. His behavior may actually improve as a result of the observation, at least temporarily.

Getting teachers interested in the technic of observation directs their attention to individual students, and emphasizes the importance of helping each one to make optimum progress under the best possible conditions. Through observation, teachers become more aware of individual differences.

Records of observations make possible more accurate and helpful reports to parents, college admissions officers, and employers.

Use of Observations

The use of unrecorded observations has already been mentioned. For example, the accuracy with which an interviewer reflects the client's feeling makes accurate interpretations depend a great deal on the interviewer's sensitivity and skill in observation. Similarly, in group work the leader uses his observations immediately in facilitating beneficial interaction in the group.

Records of observations form a very important part of the student's

cumulative record, which, in turn, is the basis for periodic appraisals of every student, for reports to parents, for conferences on educational and vocational plans, and for counseling directed toward self-understanding and self-realization. In schools of nursing, anecdotal records are valuable in individual counseling and in determining students' aptitude for nursing in the preclinical period (1). The anecdotal or behavior diary record can be used to appraise the development of a student's social ability and attitudes, study and reading habits, functioning intelligence, and creative ability over a long period of time. Observations made as they occur should be thus appraised and summarized periodically.

Observational records may be used to help students take a more objective attitude toward themselves. Obviously, the counselor would not say to the student, "Here is what Miss M—— has written about you." However, the person who has written the anecdote or behavior diary record or descriptive summary may say, "Here is what I have written about you. Do you agree with it? Does it give a true picture?"

Helping Teachers to Observe Students

Counselors frequently have the problem of introducing the anecdotal record to teachers who are unfamiliar with it and are not convinced of its worth. An effective device for helping a group of teachers to improve their technic of observation is to present a film picturing an individual's behavior, or a dramatized interview or sketch, and ask them to write anecdotal records on the episode. Their records, handed in anonymously, will serve as a basis for discussion of the technics of observing and recording. Some members of the group will record only bits of behavior; others will select behavior most likely to be important for the individual's development; still others will read into the observed behavior their own feelings and points of view. Some will record only generalizations, or use labels such as *lazy*, *sullen*, *rejected child*, *apathetic*. A few will write summaries rather than concrete descriptions of the behavior observed. By discussing these records, the group will become sensitive to good and poor features of recorded observations.

This introduction and practice in observation may be followed by other meetings in which the teachers' anecdotal or behavior diary records of their students are read aloud, analyzed, and interpreted. The teacher whose records are being discussed will recognize strong and weak points and make suggestions for his own improvement.

Conferences with individual teachers and case conferences in which anecdotal records are used, are perhaps the most effective ways of interesting teachers in writing anecdotal records and of helping them to improve their technic of observation. Lumley (22) has described the

ways in which teachers in one county in Pennsylvania were helped to improve their understanding of children. Teachers observed children informally in their homes and on the playground as well as in classes, and recorded their observations, which they kept in a folder for each child and used in their instruction.

Highlights for the Counselor

Even though direct observation of a person's specific actions is accurately recorded, it may in itself—in isolation—have little or no meaning or use in counseling. In order to be meaningful, the behavior must be seen in its setting and interpreted in the light of all the other information available about the person. The counselor is interested not in the action itself, but in what it reveals about the person. He reads the records of observation as a "language of behavior." Through his behavior the person often tells the counselor more than he does in words.

Reliability and validity are important as indications that the behavior has been accurately perceived and interpreted. Quantitative statistical formulas, however, may yield only a superficial, spurious reliability. From the counselor's standpoint, reliability means that the behavior has been observed accurately and consistently; validity means that the observer has been able to interpret the language of behavior. The observer must learn to translate observed behavior into its psychological meaning without reading into the behavior his own adult feelings and biases.

During the last ten years, research interest has shifted from the scientific study of isolated details of behavior to investigations in helping teachers to understand individual students. Much more research is needed on the making, recording, and use of observation of adolescents.

CHAPTER III

Rating Scales

Rating is, in essence, directed observation. It is of no value unless that observation is accurate. Too often, persons confronted with a neat and inviting rating scale are tempted to co-operate by putting checks in the spaces provided, even though they have only a meager basis for judgment. The mechanics of rating is so easy; accurate appraisal, so difficult.

The rating scale serves as a guide to observation and as a quantitative method of recording and summarizing observation. Rating may be directed toward the process, as well as toward the end-products of learning. Thus the rating scale becomes an important instrument for studying the processes by which personality develops (37).

Description and Examples of Rating Scales

The rating scale has two main features: (1) a description of the characteristics to be rated and (2) some means by which one may indicate the quality, frequency, or importance of each item. A useful overview of the main types of rating scales, culled from a bibliography of 131 titles, is given in a review by Weiss (49).

The characteristics to be rated, as May and Hartshorne (30) suggested, may be expressed in phrases or sentences that describe different kinds and levels of behavior, as a check list of descriptive adjectives, or as a verbal picture of a certain kind of personality. The verbal picture may vary in form from a description expressed in a single phrase or sentence, as in the "*Guess Who*" test, to detailed personality sketches to be matched with the personalities to be appraised. The most adequate form of rating scale includes a combination of selected traits or personality tendencies, illustrated by descriptions of behavior in which each tendency is manifested, and supplemented by anecdotal records. The

PERSONALITY REPORT *

The information on this sheet is confidential

Name of student _____ Name of institution _____

Please return this sheet to _____

Selection and guidance of students are based on scholastic records of achievement, health and other factual records. Personality, difficult to evaluate, is of great importance. You will greatly assist in the education of the student named if you will rate him with respect to each question by placing a check mark in the square which represents your evaluation of the candidate.

If you have had no opportunity to observe the student with respect to a given characteristic, please place a check mark in the square opposite the line "no opportunity to observe."

In the rectangle to the right of each indicated judgment describe briefly and concretely significant performances and attitudes which support your judgment and which you yourself have observed.

Let your statements answer specifically the questions of the rating scale by showing how the student manifested the qualities mentioned.

Do not be satisfied with the statement of an opinion concerning matters of fact, if the facts themselves can be presented.

Select those illustrations of conduct which are consistent with the personality of the student as you have observed and understood it.

Bear in mind that from as many accurate observers as possible the college desires to secure concrete descriptions of the student's personality as exhibited in many situations and that the purpose is an understanding of the student's personality as a whole so that he and all concerned with his education may guide his development to the highest.

The following items illustrate the way in which observers have reported evidence in support of their checking of the highest answer to the second question (B):

Of a college senior: "In my course in Elizabethan drama he voluntarily built to scale models of the Blackfriars Theater and the Fortune Theater based on the work of Chambers, Albright and others and demonstrated Elizabethan methods of staging several of the plays read."

Of a college senior: "Independently collected and classified correctly one hundred type specimens of fossils found in the neighborhood of the college."

Of an eighth grade boy: "Finding in English assignment, the introduction to Burns' 'The Cotter's Saturday Night,' a reference to Robert Fergusson's 'The Farmer's Ingle' as a possible inspiration of Burns' poem, he looked up Fergusson's poem in the home library and compared it with that of Burns. At the same time, desiring to read Burns in the Scottish way he mastered the phonetic system of Sir James Wilson's 'The Dialect of Robert Burns as spoken in Central Ayrshire' which he also found in the home library, and so interested the boys of his class in the pronunciation of Scottish words that even at the end of the year the lads still called each other by appropriate Scottish nicknames and used Scotticisms which they found in Burns and Wilson."

"At the age of eleven began collecting diatoms from local ponds and streams and studying their forms under his own microscope. Now possesses collection of microscope slides, including some presented to him by scientists in Department of Agriculture and Carnegie Institution, specimens collected by Shackleton, Scott and other expeditions."

What have been your opportunities for observing this student? _____

Signature Date Position Address

(over)

* This form sells for 2 cents each, in any quantity, net, plus transportation charges
Reproduced with permission of the American Council on Education.

Name of student _____		
<p>A—How are you and others affected by his appearance and manner?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Sought by others <input type="checkbox"/> Well liked by others <input type="checkbox"/> Liked by others <input type="checkbox"/> Tolerated by others <input type="checkbox"/> Avoided by others <input type="checkbox"/> No opportunity to observe</p>	<p>Please record here instances on which you base your judgment.</p>
<p>B—Does he need frequent prodding or does he go ahead without being told?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Seeks and acts for himself additional tasks <input type="checkbox"/> Completes suggested supplementary work. <input type="checkbox"/> Does ordinary assignments of his own accord <input type="checkbox"/> Needs occasional prodding <input type="checkbox"/> Needs much prodding in doing ordinary assignments <input type="checkbox"/> No opportunity to observe</p>	<p>Please record here instances on which you base your judgment.</p>
<p>C—Does he get others to do what he wishes?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Displays marked ability to lead his fellows; makes things go <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes leads in important affairs <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes leads in minor affairs <input type="checkbox"/> Lets others take lead <input type="checkbox"/> Probably unable to lead his fellows <input type="checkbox"/> No opportunity to observe</p>	<p>Please record here instances on which you base your judgment.</p>
<p>D—How does he control his emotions?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Unusual balance of responsiveness and control <input type="checkbox"/> Well balanced <input type="checkbox"/> Usually well balanced <input type="checkbox"/> Tends to be unresponsive <input type="checkbox"/> Tends to be over emotional <input type="checkbox"/> Unresponsive, apathetic <input type="checkbox"/> Too easily depressed, irritated or elated <input type="checkbox"/> No opportunity to observe</p>	<p>Please record here instances on which you base your judgment.</p>
<p>E—Has he a program with definite purposes in terms of which he distributes his time and energy?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Expressed in realizing well formulated objectives <input type="checkbox"/> Directs energies effectively with fairly definite program <input type="checkbox"/> Has vaguely formed objectives <input type="checkbox"/> Aims just to "get by" <input type="checkbox"/> Aimless trifler <input type="checkbox"/> No opportunity to observe</p>	<p>Please record here instances on which you base your judgment.</p>

trend has been toward making the descriptions more concrete and objective (32).

The degree of quality of each characteristic may be indicated by checking *excellent, good, fair, poor, or bad*; or by indicating the pattern of behavior that applies most accurately to the individual being rated. Quality may also be shown through paired comparisons, man-to-man comparisons, or multiple-choice responses. The man-to-man comparison, i.e., matching the person to be rated with other real or hypothetical persons known to the rater, is difficult to make; it also seems out of line with the principle that each personality is unique. The frequency of the behavior may be indicated by checking *always, usually, sometimes, seldom, or never*. The characteristics may also be ranked in order from best to worst. The degrees may be indicated in short phrases (See *Personality Report*, p. 65), in longer descriptive paragraphs, or on a line representing the range of the quality or frequency.

Each type of rating scale has its shortcomings. In a study of four types used over a period of years in an office organization of seventeen hundred employees, Kingsbury (19) found much to criticize. He characterized the man-to-man scale as unreliable; the descriptive adjective scale as ambiguous; the distribution curves as rarely useful as a guide in the original assignment of ratings. The scale of five items, closely related to the work being supervised, proved the most satisfactory for use by executives without training in psychology.

Trail-Conduct Rating Scale

The rating scale developed by the American Council on Education (5) consists of a small number of personality tendencies briefly defined (See pages 64-65). It illustrates many good features:

1. It has five clearly defined traits, expressed in the form of brief descriptions of behavior that can be observed. The rating of conduct is usually superior in accuracy to the rating of generalized traits.
2. It provides space in which to record instances or anecdotes that support the rater's judgment.
3. It encourages the rater to indicate when he has had no opportunity to observe the behavior to be rated.
4. It is limited to five types of behavior chosen because of their importance in student development.
5. It is accompanied by specific directions for rating.

Trail-Behavior-Pattern Rating Scale

The items on another type of rating scale consist of descriptions of behavior patterns rather than of specific conduct. This type is illustrated

by the rating scale developed by the Committee on Records and Reports of the Progressive Education Association (33, 43). One item on the scale—Responsibility-Dependability—is described as follows:

Type 1. Responsible and resourceful: Those who not only carry through whatever is undertaken, but also show initiative and versatility in accomplishing and enlarging upon their undertakings. . . .

Type 2. Conscientious: Those who complete without external compulsion whatever is assigned to them, but are unlikely to enlarge the scope of their assignments.

Type 3. (a) Generally dependable: Those who usually carry through their undertakings, self-assumed or assigned by others, requiring only occasional reminder or compulsion. . . .

(b) Selectively dependable: Those who show high persistence in undertakings in which they have particular interest, but are less likely to carry through other assignments. . . .

Type 4. Unreliable: Those who can be relied upon to complete undertakings only when they are of moderate duration or difficulty and then only with much prodding and supervision.

Type 5. Irresponsible: Those who cannot be relied upon to complete any undertaking even when constantly prodded and guided (33:9).

As a guide in observing students, this scale is superior to the undirected efforts of the majority of teachers. It combines features of the specific-item rating scale with the descriptive paragraph. One difficulty in its use lies in the rater's inability, in certain cases, to identify the individual with any one of the descriptive types. The rater might have less difficulty if the descriptions of types were thought of as a vertical graphic scale, on which the rater could then mark anywhere along the line from *responsible* to *irresponsible*. Another improvement in this scale might be to add a description of the situation in which the individual is rated. For example, a student might be resourceful in finding persons to whom to tell his troubles, but not at all resourceful in getting facts for a report in history. From the standpoint of guidance, it is more important for the personnel worker to know in which situations a student is resourceful than merely to know in general that he is resourceful. In the rating scale, accordingly, space should be provided for recording the situation in which the characteristic was manifested.

GRAPHIC RATING SCALES

This form of scale has had considerable popularity. In using it, the rater makes a check along a straight line, under which are printed descriptive phrases indicative of varying degrees of the trait from one extreme to the other.

One of the earliest and still one of the soundest discussions of this

method is Freyd's article (15) in which he compared the graphic rating scale with other scales, stated its advantages and uses, and gave rules for its construction. He listed the following advantages of the graphic scale over other methods: It is simple and easily understood, used, and scored; it frees the rater from quantitative estimates, yet enables him to make his discrimination as fine as he wishes; its use of descriptive phrases makes the degrees of the trait concrete.

In constructing a graphic rating scale (15), the first step is to describe the traits to be rated in terms of the individual's behavior. The next step is to state the extremes of each trait and to formulate three or five short, precise, descriptive phrases. The end phrases should not be so extremely worded as never to be applicable. The rating line should be of such length that a stencil for scoring the response can easily be calibrated; about five inches is satisfactory. In order to circumvent the rater's tendency to mark in the same relative position throughout the scale, some of the favorable items should be placed on the right-hand side and some on the left-hand side of the page.

MODIFIED MAN-TO-MAN RATING METHOD

A description of the use of this method of rating pupils in the classroom is given by Howie (17). The traits selected were those that could be observed under school conditions: bodily activity, perseverance, excitability, quickness of intelligence, cheerfulness, mental activity, common sense, continuity of interests, initiative, and self-consciousness. The rating schedule describing these traits was discussed with the raters, who were well acquainted with the boys to be rated and who were instructed to observe them for one trait at a time for at least a week before making the rating. Then each rater was to sort the name cards of all the boys he was rating into three piles: one-fifth who were above average in the trait, three-fifths who were average, and one-fifth who were below average. Each of these groups was to be further subdivided by internal comparison into above average, average, and below average. This procedure had the advantages (1) of focusing the rater's attention on one observable kind of behavior at a time and (2) of facilitating comparison among the subjects by a series of fairly simple judgments.

Characteristics Most Worth Rating

The selection of items to be rated is the first step in making a rating scale, just as the selection of items to be tested is the first step in test construction. Since rating is directed observation, the importance of channeling observation toward significant objectives is obvious. The objectives vary with the situation. In schools and colleges the aim is to

appraise the characteristics that are most significant in an individual's development. Although no one knows exactly what these qualities are, a study of the most widely used rating scales shows that the following are frequently included:

- Responsibility; dependability
- Social sensitivity; ability to get along well with people
- Influence or leadership
- Creativeness and imagination
- Emotional stability and responsiveness
- Purpose; standards of accomplishment
- Effective reading and study methods; habits of thought.

In industry and business, the characteristics selected for rating scales are those thought to be related to efficient production. Falk (12) collected employee rating scales from a number of large firms to show high school students the personal qualities that employers consider important. If included on high school and college rating scales, these qualities would bring the objectives of the world of work closer to the world of education.

In certain situations the choice of items to be rated is necessarily restricted by school conditions. Teachers working with large classes in a departmentalized system or in a formal type of school, cannot be expected to rate all their students on a dozen or more items. Unfortunately, these conditions rule out certain kinds of appraisal that can be made only when social interaction can be observed. Under such unfavorable conditions, the best policy seems to be for teachers to rate the extreme cases, and to make no attempt to differentiate among pupils in the middle 80 per cent of the class. In one large school, teachers were asked to rate only outstanding students, and to consider only three characteristics.

Rating Procedures

The scale itself is only one factor in effective rating. Other considerations are the qualifications of the rater, his skill in observing, and his ability to integrate his observations into a structured whole. The number of independent ratings made in a representative sampling of situations also influences the accuracy and adequacy of ratings.

THE EFFECTIVE RATER

A good judge of personality is difficult to define. His success in rating persons cannot be explained by some blanket term such as intuitiveness or insight. No general factor of intuitiveness has yet been isolated, although it is referred to frequently in discussions of rating. Some persons, undoubtedly, are better "intuitive" raters than others. In one experi-

ment reported by Vernon (48) two hundred correlations showed that some persons were capable of making judgments significantly superior to chance.

The factors that seem most clearly to distinguish the good judge of personality from the poor one, are intelligence and artistic ability. If the analytic approach is emphasized to the exclusion of the artistic, the result is likely to be unsatisfactory. As might be expected, broad life experience seems to be an asset; an individual can understand another person's feelings better if he has been in the same situation himself. Accurate self-knowledge may help to insure the rater against mistakes. For that reason, introverts may be better judges of friends and associates than extroverts. The good self-rater, on the other hand, has been characterized as extroverted and sociable, possessed of a sense of humor and superior abstract intelligence (48).

However, as Vernon (48) pointed out, it is not possible to discuss the characteristics of the effective rater of personality in general. The accuracy of the rating varies not only with the judge but also with the subject who is judged, with the nature of the judgment, and with the conditions under which it is given. There is a unique relationship between a certain judge and a particular person rated.

The factor of training and experience in rating must also be considered. One of the most serious failings in the process of rating students has been to allow inexperienced persons to fill out rating scales; without training in accurate observation or adequate time in which to make and record observations, these persons cannot effectively rate students.

According to Kingsbury (19), the following training program brought excellent results with persons who had not had scientific training in psychology:

1. Each rater was given a carefully worded manual.
2. Each set of ratings was analyzed and compared with the same person's previous ratings.
3. Several devices were used for checking the reliability and validity of the ratings.
4. The director had personal interviews with each rater, during which his ratings were reviewed, his general faults in rating were pointed out, individual cases were discussed, and apparent contradictions were cleared up.

The manual of directions which accompanied the tentative rating scale of the Records and Reports Committee of the Progressive Education Association is one of the most carefully constructed sets of instructions in rating that has been written for teachers. Under general sug-

gestions are included the following specific directions, each of which is elaborated in a descriptive paragraph (33):

1. Make your description of a pupil without consulting anyone.
2. Study the classifications under one heading and rate a number of pupils on that heading. Do not rate one pupil at a time on all traits.
3. Base your judgments as far as possible on objective evidence, that is, on actual observation of the pupil's behavior.
4. Try to put aside any desire, conscious or subconscious, to help a pupil by writing a favorable description.
5. Regard the illustrations under classifications as suggestive rather than inclusive.
6. Make no attempt to equalize numbers of pupils under types or to achieve any particular distribution. The correct description of the individual is the most important aim.

Even with this carefully developed manual, some teachers have had great difficulty in using the scale to rate their students.

SELF-RATING

In general, self-rating has a rather low reliability. Simpson (41) found that a group of 271 male prisoners tended to rate themselves higher than did a group of 204 college students who possessed generally desirable personality traits. Burglars and sex-offenders tended to rate themselves higher than did prisoners convicted for larceny or murder. Eurich (11) reported that self-ratings on traits of studiousness appeared to be futile in detecting differences between superior and inferior students. It is frequently reported (21; 39; 40; 45:109-11) that individuals have a tendency to rate themselves higher than other persons do, except those whom they themselves have selected to rate them. This tendency toward overestimation of ability is most pronounced in the case of the less able student (30, 39). The higher the mental ability of the student, the more likely is his judgment to harmonize with that of the teacher. Superior students are not so prone to exalt themselves as are their less able fellows; they do not need to. Remmers (34) found that students who became distinguished were generally not aware of their own superiority, except with respect to their intellectual ability. However, Filter (14) obtained somewhat different results with 561 children in grades four to nine and with 154 college sophomores: the students obtaining the lower marks tended to estimate their performance more correctly than did the superior students. Chinese students in the United States underestimated their ability, but Chinese students in their native land showed the more common tendency toward overestimation (28).

Evidently the reliability of self-rating varies with a number of factors—the quality rated, the type of scale, and the conditions under which the rating is made. The correlations between the correctness of the student's estimate and his actual ability vary greatly with the task under consideration, ranging from 0.09 to 0.84 (14). Shaw (40) obtained a higher reliability in the self-rating of academic interest than in the self-rating of social interest. Times and conditions also exert influence. At the end of a term, students were quite conservative in estimating their grades; 130 underestimated and 105 overestimated. At the beginning of a term, on the other hand, the number of students making an overestimate was approximately three times as large as the number who underestimated their probable marks (40).

Self-overestimation in college students was found to be associated with relatively low intelligence; a gloomy, narrow outlook on life; a tendency toward low will power, self-centeredness, and self-consciousness. Conversely, the accurate self-rater tended to be more intelligent, more emotionally adequate, and more socially minded than the inaccurate self-rater. These conclusions were based on a study of 10,567 self-estimates of college students (1). It was suggested that the good self-rater's broad-minded sympathy and lack of self-consciousness would tend to evoke spontaneous reactions from others which, in turn, would give him a better basis for appraising his own qualities.

At best, the reliability and validity of self-rating leaves much to be desired. Even with groups of intelligent raters, Yoakum and Manson (51) obtained reliability coefficients of only 0.35 to 0.63 over a four-month interval. Despite the low reliability, self-rating may have value in increasing an individual's understanding of himself. This is especially true when the items to be rated are goals which he himself has set. Possibly a greater degree of self-insight might be obtained from a self-initiated autobiographical analysis.

STUDENT RATINGS OF COLLEGE TEACHERS

About 1930, there was a relatively large number of articles on students' ratings of teachers in college, teacher-training institutions, and high schools. Root (36) prepared a student-teacher critique of fifty questions such as: "Does the instructor create a cheerful, buoyant atmosphere in class?" "Does he have annoying peculiarities of speech?" "Is his class preparation thorough?" "Do the examinations constitute a good inventory or good sampling of the educational experiences of students?" This list of questions was given twice to two hundred college students. The items having a reliability below 0.85 were omitted on the revised blank, submitted to the two hundred students on the retest four weeks

later. The reliability coefficient was 0.93, and the range in agreement on the forty-two items of the blank was from 0.86 to 1.0. The investigator was convinced that the opinions thus expressed constituted valuable information for the instructors.

At Iowa State College (44), from the fall of 1928 to 1934, forty thousand student-teacher rating scales were used. These were of the graphic form and consisted of seventeen items such as the following:

Preparation for class meetings										
	Class meetings very carefully planned			Usually some prepara- tion; often seems inade- quate				Little or no preparation		

Eleven essentials of teaching and six personality traits were included. The ratings were made at the end of each quarter. Successive ratings of the same teachers indicated that in some way, perhaps by real growth in teaching skill, teachers tended to raise themselves in the opinion of their students. Of special interest, in view of the criticism of student rating of teachers, is the fact that the achievement of the student in the instructor's subject did not appreciably affect the rating he gave the instructor; there was a coefficient of correlation of only 0.15 between students' academic marks and the ratings they gave the instructors.

In the experience with undergraduates' ratings of courses at Harvard (38), there was little relationship between scholastic aptitude scores and approval of courses. As in the Iowa study, the marks obtained were relatively independent of the approval of courses. Apparently students on a similar level of achievement and with similar general intelligence respond very differently to the same teacher and the same course.

Clem (8) submitted to his students in a teachers' college a check list of seventy-five items pertaining to teaching skill. The investigator felt that the results of the ratings told him significantly what his students thought about his teaching. Macdonald (29) studied student opinion of teachers in normal schools and teachers' colleges, by having the students list qualities and practices which they approved or disapproved. Sense of humor ranked first and sense of justice second among the qualities approved. Among the qualities disapproved, injustice, lack of consideration, and poor voice and address ranked first, second, and third, respectively. Among practices approved, definite assignments were put in the first place and well-organized work, second.

An attempt to evaluate the practice of students' rating of instructors was made by Taylor and his associates (46). Of twenty-five institutions using some form of rating system, eleven said that they had found the

ratings "valuable or highly valuable." Only three definitely said that they had not found the ratings valuable.

STUDENT RATINGS OF HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS

High school students' ratings of their teachers have been similarly studied. In one situation, teachers were rated on five items: (a) teacher for whom student works hardest, (b) one he likes best, (c) one who has the best discipline, (d) one from whom he learns most, and (e) one who is the most efficient. The students' judgment of teachers' efficiency depended upon their liking him as a person more than upon any other factor (4). In another high school situation (26), the pupils were asked to rank their teachers from the best to the poorest, and to state the qualities which, in their opinion, make a good or a poor teacher. The good qualities most frequently listed were a good disposition, kindness, patience, cheerfulness, control of temper; the poor qualities emphasized were partiality, unpleasant disposition, and quick temper. Remmers (35) found that college students tended less than high school students to invest their teachers with a "halo."

On the basis of traits considered by a sampling of experts as essential for teaching success, Almy and Sorenson (2) constructed a graphic teacher-rating device. The traits were defined and described on a five-unit scale of behavior for which reliabilities of 0.72 and 0.94 were reported. The *Purdue Rating Scale* for instructors has been used every year at Colorado State Teachers College. It is reported to have resulted in the self-improvement of instruction. Six years' experience with this scale shows that the instructors like it and are willing to be rated by students (3).

The combined estimate of a group of students is of value in calling the instructor's attention to weaknesses that he may have overlooked. Even when students' ratings are not highly reliable (35), they may give the teachers practical and sometimes poignant information about themselves and their teaching methods. Though there are faults in the systematic attempt to get an adequate sampling of student opinion about teachers, this method is definitely superior to the traditional method of random rumors and gossip. It is significant that those who have reported using such a plan have expressed a favorable opinion; there has been no statement to the effect that the experiment was not worth the time and effort it cost (6). Criticism by students, though it may not be based on an adequate theory of teaching efficiency, supplements the relatively infrequent classroom visits of the principal, president, or supervisor. The learner's attitude toward instruction is important, and the efforts made to measure it are commendable.

Use of Rating Scales

Rating scales have many practical uses: in writing reports to parents, in filling out admission blanks for colleges, in making recommendations to employers, in detecting students' needs, and in appraising the more intangible aspects of student development. Successive ratings help the counselor study a student's progress in those intangibles of personality that have thus far eluded precise measurement. Ratings of student characteristics supplement other sources of understanding.

Another value of ratings, which is frequently overlooked, is their stimulating effect upon the individuals who are rated. The mere knowledge that his behavior is being observed and recorded usually encourages a student to try to make a good impression. If the conduct under observation is associated with significant educational objectives, the student thus acquires definite personal goals of behavior. When the student's ratings are made known to him in a tactful manner, they aid in his self-analysis. They are especially helpful in guiding his educational and vocational plans and in leading him to correct certain personality "fault lines" that may seriously interfere with his success.

Rating scales also affect the person who does the rating (25). They direct his attention to the study of the individual student. They serve as a measure of the functioning of the personnel point of view in the institution; ability to rate students accurately indicates that attention is being given to the individual development of every student.

Many investigations in the field of personality are based on some form of rating technic. Ratings have served as a criterion for evaluating tests of personality and aptitude; they have been used to collect data on characteristics that could not be measured more objectively; they have been used in many kinds of psychological experimentation involving verbal reports.

Limitations

Sometimes a rating tells more about the teacher than it does about the student. However, it is neither possible nor desirable to rule out the personality of the rater. His point of view helps to integrate into a structured whole his scattered observation of the individual. However, one must know something about the rater and the conditions under which the ratings were made in order to interpret and use the ratings wisely.

From the standpoint of the rater, it is difficult to make ratings without knowing by whom and how they will be used. A rating may greatly influence an individual's future. This was the situation with regard to

the Selective Service rating scales. The caution which teachers exercised in rating under those circumstances was perhaps one reason why the mental hygiene rating scale filled out by thousands of high school teachers had such a low relationship with the psychiatric rating (18). Another reason was that the scale was poorly constructed.

Reliability and Validity of Ratings

In rating, one is confronted with the same troublesome problem that crops up in the use of other technics: whether lack of correspondence between ratings is attributable to unreliability of the rating or to natural and often desirable variability in the individual. Adolescents, especially, vary in their attitudes and behavior from day to day and from year to year. A high school valedictorian fell in love and made an indifferent scholastic record in college. Excessive participation in extra-class activities lowered the scholastic record of another high school student, but a more balanced program in college resulted in markedly higher achievement. A new purpose or ambition may reverse a teacher's rating on characteristics such as responsibility, work habits, and initiative. In cases like these, inconsistency in ratings or discrepancy between ratings and performance is due to actual changes in the student rather than to any failure of the teacher to observe carefully. Because of this variability, the ratings of even the most expert and understanding teachers may appear inconsistent and inaccurate. Variation in ratings does not necessarily imply that there is a fault either in the rating system or in the rater.

Some variations, however, must be attributable to the raters. Kornhauser (24) reported wide divergence among a group of college instructors in their ratings of students. Some raters are clearly superior to others working under the same conditions. Conrad (9), however, obtained statistical evidence that the effect of the "personal equations" in ratings has been overestimated.

The reliability and validity of ratings likewise vary greatly under different conditions. For many years studies have been made of the degree of correspondence between ratings and other evidences of the trait being studied. Ratings of teachers as validated again test results show up rather poorly in general (16). High school teachers' ratings of their students' scholastic ability were found to correspond only roughly to the same students' actual success in college. Of those rated highest by high school teachers, 84 per cent made satisfactory university grades; of those rated second highest, 63 per cent did satisfactory work in college; and of those rated lowest, 33 per cent obtained a satisfactory college record (31). Under laboratory conditions the ratings of teachers, col-

lege seniors, and graduate students in psychology were consistent, and showed a high correlation with certain other measurements (26). Students' ratings agreed with those of three experts in 75 per cent of the cases (44).

Some characteristics of students are more difficult to rate than others. In a study of the reliability with which each of twenty-four traits was judged, Slawson (42) found that the objectivity of a character trait was related to the degree of agreement to be expected in rating it. Of the seven traits studied by Kornhauser (23), intelligence and industry appeared to be the most accurately judged; initiative, co-operativeness, and leadership ability, the most poorly rated. The fact that a generalized trait such as emotionality can be rated with considerable accuracy suggests that a person may get a fairly valid total impression, even when he cannot give specific reasons for his ratings (26). Hartson (16) found 80 per cent more spread in the rating of general traits than of specific behavior. Fearing stated that appraisal of personality as "a unitary, structured whole . . . involves judgments regarding underlying, dynamic relations as indicated by the behavior of the person under observation . . ." (13:74) and seems to bring more valid results than does the analytical method of appraisal. "Personality can be more accurately and consistently judged as a structured whole" (13:74).

The relationship of the rater to the person being rated is another cause of variation. This fact was demonstrated by Cleeton (7) through interviews in which forty students were rated on such personality traits as intelligence, will power, soundness of judgment, frankness, ability to make friends, leadership, originality and impulsiveness. The factor of acquaintance usually operates to make ratings more lenient, less critical, and less analytical, and to impart a "halo" to the general estimate (20). However, this generalization does not always hold. Working under laboratory conditions, Landis (26) found that ratings of emotionality and stability did not differ significantly whether they were made by intimate associates or general acquaintances. When intimate acquaintance with the individual rated does affect the validity of ratings, it is probably caused by inducing a "halo effect" which spreads over each of the items rated. This phenomenon has been frequently reported (21, 31).

As in the case of tests, the reliability coefficients of ratings tend to decrease as the time interval between them increases (51).

The number of ratings of the same person is another factor in their reliability and validity. The reliability of a single rating may be expected to be as low as that of a single-item test. Various estimates have been made as to the optimum number of raters. Kornhauser (24) found that

the average reliability of ratings increased as the number of raters was enlarged to four; after that number, there was no improvement. Symonds's summary of the research on this question (45) indicates that, although a rating by a single judge is generally unreliable, human character can be appraised accurately enough for practical purposes on the basis of from three to eight independent ratings.

Summary

In brief, one can improve the quality of ratings:

1. By selecting for rating a limited number of characteristics that are most significant for the individual's personality development, and that are relatively high in reliability.
2. By defining or describing these characteristics clearly and concretely.
3. By making a rating scale that exemplifies these desirable features:
 - a. a reasonable number of items to rate
 - b. choice of characteristics that can be observed under the given conditions
 - c. avoidance of ambiguous items
 - d. clear indications of degree, frequency, or intensity
 - e. place to indicate "no chance to observe"
 - f. space to describe the situation under which the observation and rating were made
 - g. space to record anecdotes which illustrate and support the ratings.
4. By creating conditions in which teachers and other persons can observe the characteristics to be rated (for example, keeping groups small and informal).
5. By selecting qualified raters.
6. By developing the rating scale and instructions for its use in co-operation with the persons who are to do the rating (50).
7. By providing in-service education in observation and rating.
8. By having the same student rated under different conditions by three or more experienced raters.
9. By giving ample time for observation prior to rating.
10. By using ratings in connection with interviews and other methods of understanding the student and what his observed behavior means to him.

Certain trends in rating may be noted. More emphasis is now being placed on the selection of items that are in accord with sound educational objectives. Attention has shifted somewhat from the mechanical aspects of scale construction to the improvement of observation, which is basic

to effective rating. There is increasing interest in the study of patterns of personality and relationships among characteristics.

Further Research Needed

The next steps in research have been suggested in the preceding paragraphs. Conditions under which ratings are made should be defined far more precisely than they have been in the past. New forms of rating scales must be developed to reveal unique aspects of personality and the process by which certain qualities are acquired. For example, a rating on leadership ability should give some indication of an individual's peculiar quality of leadership. New methods must also be applied in determining the reliability and validity of personality ratings. This is not easy, for no criterion has yet been found against which to validate so complex a unity.

Prediction of an individual's future behavior on the basis of a knowledge of his reactions in the past might well be a means of validating ratings. It would be interesting to see whether high school teachers, on the basis of their previous contacts with a student, could predict what he would do in certain situations which they would have a chance to observe. For example, would he attend a certain social affair? If he did, would he enter into the activities or stand aloof? Would he ask relevant questions during class? Would he have a particular assignment in on time? Would he do the extra work that was suggested but not required? This rating of potential behavior is a fascinating and still unexplored field of study.

Many investigations are required to ascertain the significance of the numerous characteristics now included on rating scales for the individual's total adjustment in his particular environment. For example, what is the significance of a tendency to overestimate or underestimate one's abilities? Is marked underestimation of ability a sign of maladjustment in a highly intelligent student? In a student of low scholastic aptitude?

Other opportunities for investigation are to be found in the administrative aspects of rating: studies of the co-operative working out of a program of rating, of effective training programs for raters, of the adaptation of rating scales to the skill of the rater and to the opportunities for observation in a given situation, and of the effective use of ratings in the development and guidance of individuals.

CHAPTER IV

Autobiography and Other Personal Documents

Despite criticism of introspective methods and the recognized inaccuracy of self-estimates, there is a growing interest in various forms of personal documents. During the war a biographical questionnaire was employed for practical appraisal purposes in England, Germany, and the United States (71:84-90). The "Personal History" in conjunction with observation in practical situations that revealed significant characteristics was found to be of major importance in officer selection. In one follow-up study, the rate of failure during technical training was reduced from 14.7 to 4.7 per cent by the use of these methods (48).

The individual's introspective reports frequently give clues to the meaning of his observed behavior; they aid in the interpretation of other personal data; they may open up to the counselor the individual's private world and indicate his present receptivity to counseling and psychotherapy. Still more important, this introspective process is the core of client-centered counseling; it represents the client's active participation in the process. He begins to understand himself as he tries to review his life and to express his thoughts and feelings about it. Even when he is not frank and accurate with respect to conditions as others perceive them, this very need to distort "reality" is an important "fact" to the counselor.

The Autobiography

NATURE AND FORMS OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY

An autobiography is an individual's life story written by himself. It bears relationships to the Catholic confessional and to Freudian psychoanalysis. In it the individual gives an account of his family history,

reveals his present outlook on life, narrates his experiences in chronological order, and describes his interests and attitudes from early childhood to the date of writing. The writer may also give his own interpretation of his personality and his environment. The autobiography is a genetic approach to the study of interests; it sets forth a pattern of interests rather than isolated fragments. It does not, however, give the technical analysis and resynthesis of the significant features in the individual's total development which are found in the scientific biography or life history (37).

The autobiography may take a number of forms, ranging from a questionnaire outline to a lengthy narrative account written spontaneously by the subject. Typical of the first of these is the directed autobiographical questionnaire developed by Hatcher (27:39-44, 293-306) and used successfully in the rural schools of Breathitt County, Kentucky (26:1024-25). The "Personal History" form developed during World War II is another example of the autobiographical questionnaire. This is a very detailed questionnaire about nationality and other details of background of parents, parent-child relationships, tensions in family, education, work experience, hobbies, health, physical fitness, and other similar data. Included in the "Personal History" form as a separate unit are twelve projective-type questions such as "What would you most like people to say of you after you have lived your life?" and "If you were (are) a parent what things would you try most to teach your children?" (71:90).

Other forms of autobiography are far less directive. Johnson (33) allowed the student much more leeway, giving him only a sheet of instructions to assist him in the organization and presentation of his material. Symonds and Jackson (68:72-73) supplied pupils with a page of directions which urged them to include more than a mere recital of dates, places, and events, and suggested a few questions under each of the following main headings: home background, childhood experiences, school experiences, personal interests and hobbies, and future plans. In the references cited the reader will find illustrations of three main types of autobiography: (1) the standardized, which limits the writer in form as well as in content for the sake of the accuracy and uniformity of the data; (2) the topical, which is limited to certain aspects predetermined by the writer or by the person who requests the writing; and (3) the freely written comprehensive composition about one's own life (2).

EXAMPLES OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Literature, of course, is full of autobiographical material that increases a personnel worker's insight into the springs of human behavior. The

confessions of St. Augustine, the autobiographical works of Rousseau and Dostoevski, and the life of Helen Keller are notable examples. They give glimpses into hereditary and environmental forces that combine to produce a given constellation of traits and interests (37). H. G. Wells's *Experiment in Autobiography* (73) is especially interesting because of its concern with the method as well as with the content of an autobiography.

In addition to purely literary sources, there are a few autobiographies which have a special bearing on personnel work. Such, for example, are Seabrook's *Asylum* (50) and Beers's *A Mind That Found Itself* (5), which show how the world appears to a neurasthenic patient. Personal documents of this kind serve to increase the reader's understanding of individuals who feel inadequate and who lack the self-control that is a test of sanity.

The counselor may also gain understanding of the feelings of emotionally disturbed people by reading autobiographical fiction such as *Wasteland* (by Jo Sinclair) (55). From biographies, also, the counselor may learn much about developmental influences on different personalities. For example, Bühler (9), in her study of the "curve of life," analyzed three hundred biographies with special reference to attitudes toward life and spiritual attainment in relation to external events.

Still more closely related to educational problems are the personal documents obtained from high school and college students. Moore (41) obtained 3,769 autobiographical records from third- and fourth-year secondary school students living in thirty-two communities of the United States. The major question was:

Previously to the present school year, did you ever have, for a period of at least several days, a strong ambition to give your life in helping certain classes of people who are suffering from poverty, ignorance, disease, vice, injustice or crime, or in preventing these evils? (yes or no).

This question was followed by a request for a "brief and frank sketch" of that part of their lives in which they had the social ambitions referred to in the major question. This procedure elicited naïve and apparently frank responses which showed a marked lack of understanding of the social conditions the students desired to remedy, and an egocentric attitude which expressed itself in lack of knowledge about and interest in co-operative attempts to improve such conditions.

Significant insights come to both student and teacher through even short compositions of the autobiographical type. The following is one of a number of revealing personal documents obtained from an English class of gifted senior high school students writing on the subject "When I Felt at a Loss" or "All at Sea":

"At parties or any kind of dancing situation, when I am without a

partner I feel ill at ease, at a loss as to what to do. I feel as though everyone is saying to themselves, 'Oh, there's Sally without a partner,' in a rather unkind way. I want to cover up and try to look as though I weren't a wall flower, as though I had other things to do besides dance.

"I don't feel sure of the affections of people I care for quite a good deal outside of my family. I wonder if they really care for me as they say they do. Sometimes it doesn't bother me and I forget about it for a period of time. Then I have periods of fretfulness and worry. In everything they do I find things that supposedly hold up my belief. As I write this I can say that it's all absurd, that I know they are really sincere. When I am with them I don't doubt their sincerity, but it's afterwards as I mull over their actions in my mind that I find things that I imagine had some hidden meaning. This happens only with people I care very much for. I want their affection so much that I worry about it. It doesn't bother me with some people. I'd like them to like me, but it doesn't mean so much. I so much want those people to really care for me that I'm afraid they don't and I find reasons why they don't, and it worries me."

In another class a composition entitled "Life's Experiences" elicited more of the objective facts and less of the more important feelings about the life experiences. The following is one example of these autobiographical compositions:

"I was born in January 1923. My father was a singer in 'big time' vaudeville. My grandfather was born in Scotland and my grandmother in England. My other grandparents were born in Holland. A few years after I was born, I started traveling with my family. My brother, John, knows more about it as he has traveled much more. We went to New York and while there visited my cousin. We also stayed at my great-uncle Bill's ranch in California. Fifty or sixty years before me, gold was discovered further up Golden Valley. We had Christmas there, and it was a flop with no snow. On our way back we stopped to see the grave of my great-aunt, who became quite famous. Two years ago, I acquired a horse and also two years ago got rid of him because he ate too much. The horse I have at present is a western pony called 'Midnight' because he is positively all black. I've all the trappings to go on him, too. He is kept at my uncle's. I love to do what Mom calls a waste of time, and that is to draw dress designs. I have taken a few art lessons, but I didn't like them. Another hobby that I like very much is to buy many different styles of clothes, and lots of them. As soon as I'm through school I mean to begin to study dress designing right away. It's the only thing I'm interested in. I'd like to take a trip next year to Paris to study styles, but I can't. So I'll study at home."

Different personalities are revealed by the manner of writing the autobiography. Some persons, as Shaw pointed out (53:190), give only the external events in their lives; others try to defend their activities and points of view; others use the opportunity to write thoughts they have never before expressed; and still others make the autobiography an exercise in self-analysis.

Student autobiographies may be supplemented by biographies of the same individuals written by their parents. In its most complete form, the parent's story would include records and impressions of the child's behavior and personality from earliest infancy through childhood, set forth as accurately and as completely as possible. Such a running commentary would help to round out the picture of the antecedent factors influencing the student prior to his present school contact, and would, in addition, reveal significant parental attitudes, points of view, and behavior patterns (57).

SUGGESTIONS FOR OBTAINING AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

The following directions were suggested by Fryer for obtaining autobiographical information about a student's interests:

I want you to write an autobiography of your life interests. Do this leisurely. Spend several days in thinking about what you were most interested in doing as a boy or girl, and then on throughout your childhood until you became a man or woman. Try to recall the earliest things which you liked or disliked. These may be such things as building mudpies or peeling potatoes. Start with these earliest interests, in writing your interest history. Don't confuse the things you did well with the things you liked best. Tell only of the activities, people and things you liked best or disliked. Recall all of your vocational, educational and social interests from earliest time. Mention the personality interests that came into your life. Remember, write only about those things which you liked or disliked from earliest days to the present. You should take about a week to do this, making notes when you think of interests to be included in your autobiography (23:372).

The following specific directions were given to twelfth-grade pupils in the general course at the Lincoln School of Teachers College by their teacher, Mr. F. J. Rex:

"As a way of pulling together what you have obtained out of this study of vocations you are asked to write your educational autobiography. Try to step outside of yourself and look at yourself objectively. What made you what you are? What influences have gone into forming that pattern? Education must not be looked at too narrowly. All of the factors that have influenced you so far may be considered educational factors in that they have combined to make you into what you are. Your first step should be the making of some sort of an outline for this job. Here

are some suggestions; some of the items you will want to reject. You may wish to add others of your own choice.

- A. What are my backgrounds and what have they done to me?
 1. Family, ancestors, race, etc.
 2. Family interests, economic status, religious connections, friends entertained at home
 3. Community environment. Where do you live? Where have you lived in the past? What effect have these surroundings had upon you?
- B. Your school experience
 1. Types of schools you have attended
 2. Friends you have made in this school
 3. Teachers whom you remember
 4. High spots in school life
- C. What attitudes have you developed so far toward such basic problems as the ones we have chosen to study this year?
 1. Your vocation and how to prepare for it
 2. Your personal development, outlook, goals, temperament, interests, etc.
 3. Your standards for getting along with others. What you demand of society in the way of rights and privileges. What you consider artistic or inartistic. What social customs and usages do you find helpful in getting along with other people? What code of personal ethics do you actually live by?
 4. What part does the family play in your life?
 5. What are your relations to the community and its problems? Immediate community, national, international?

"In doing this job you should find very helpful the personal analysis file you have been keeping. Remember that a job of this kind will be rather dull and uninteresting unless you enliven it with specific illustrations taken from life. If possible, add graphic touches through sketches, illustrations, etc."

For students participating in the Harvard Psychological Clinic research on personality, Murray (44:413-15) prepared still more detailed directions to use as a check after they had written freely about their family, personal and school history, and their political and social views.

The length of the autobiography varies with the purpose for which it is written. According to Johnson (33), it should seldom if ever be less than five thousand words.

The first step in obtaining autobiographies is the one common to most personnel technics, namely, that of evoking the individual's maximum co-operation. If the student considers the autobiography as part of the total process of understanding himself, for which he is taking responsibility, he will write freely. Some students write more freely than they speak in a face-to-face situation; others speak more spontaneously and intimately than they write. These individual differences in response to different technics should be recognized. Among the motivations that are

effective in certain cases are the promise of self-benefit, the appeal to the scientific attitude, and the opportunity for self-expression. In no technic is the gaining of rapport more essential. As in other technics, the counselor should not be intent on getting facts about the individual, but in helping him to understand himself better through the experience of writing about himself.

Although it would be helpful to the counselor to obtain personal documents at the beginning of the term, it is better to wait until a good relationship has been established. By writing briefly on different aspects of his life—"My favorite ways of spending leisure time" or "I am the kind of person who . . ."—comprehensive personality pictures may gradually develop. These documents may be passed on at the end of the year, with the consent of the students, to teacher-counselors who will use them professionally.

VALUES OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The most commonly recognized value of the autobiography is that of helping counselors and teachers to understand students. The personal document gives them a glimpse of each student's background, interests, personality tendencies, and special needs. It often brings to light the student's philosophy, his way of viewing his world, his satisfactions and annoyances (12, 47, 58, 61). As the individual's story unfolds, the counselor gets clues as to his personality structure and his pattern of thinking; sometimes confused areas are revealed. The way he expresses himself, the emphases, even the omissions, have diagnostic implications for the sensitive counselor. By comparing interview, observational, and test data with autobiographical material, the counselor may discover important conflicts or confirmations of personality trends. The unique contribution of the autobiography lies in its descriptions of the ways in which an individual perceives certain situations, and of the ways in which these perceptions influence his attitudes and adjustment. His attitudes toward his experiences are frequently more significant than the experiences *per se*.

With reticent or resistive children, the autobiography is an especially valuable source of understanding which sometimes gives indications of special talents and interests and even of emotional difficulties not revealed by other means. This fuller understanding of the student makes the teacher more child conscious and more sympathetic toward individuals.

The value of the autobiography in supplying evidence of the student's educational achievement in writing, spelling, diction, vocabulary, and literary ability is far from negligible (52). Further, the autobiography

gives the student practice in writing and increases his interest in reading autobiographies (14, 40, 58, 61). One English teacher said that the best written compositions he had received all year were those in which the students wrote about themselves.

Most important, the autobiography helps the student to understand himself and his world; it is a form of self-analysis; it "directs [the student's] attention to himself in a new way" (61:40) and causes him "to organize past, present, and future experience in such a fashion as to see their personal significance" (61:47). Writing his life history helps an individual build his self-concept; it increases his self-insight and self-understanding and suggests constructive ways in which he can develop himself (2:40; 12; 14). It sometimes engenders new initiative and determination in carrying out decisions. One teacher reported improved behavior in class as a result of the writing of autobiographies (12:106). This value is achieved only if the autobiography is used as a part of the counseling process. If the pupil does not have the opportunity to discuss his personal documents with the counselor, he may become too introspective or crystallize his self-concept prematurely.

As a therapeutic technic, the autobiography is valuable in releasing tensions. It may give the student perspective, and it helps him to see life steadily and whole. In Behrman's play, *Biography*, the heroine comments thus on the effect of writing her autobiography:

You know writing one's life has a sobering effect on one. . . . I'm having a wonderful time. Quiet too. Writing *enforces* silence and solitude on you. I've always lived in such a rush—a kind of interminable scherzo. . . . Everyone should write one's life, I think—but not for publication. For oneself. A kind of spiritual Spring-cleaning! (6:100, 103, 149).

Some students' autobiographies throw light on the characteristics of successful and unsuccessful teachers, as these excerpts show:

"When I was in the second grade I had a teacher called Mrs. X. I remember how she used to yell at the children. There were two colored children she used to pick on. That's all I remember about second grade!"

"My best recollections were when I came into Miss B's second grade. She was very kind to me, and helped me with my work."

"From ever since I was a little kid I can remember Miss Z [the principal] talking away" (47:307, 310).

Autobiographies have two other advantages: they can be obtained in groups at a minimum expenditure of the counselor's time, and they give the student time to express himself at length on any aspect of his life experiences.

If only two technics of child study could be used by the teacher, observation and the autobiography would probably give the best under-

standing of the individual's behavior and of his unique way of viewing and interpreting his world. The autobiography aids the counselor in interpreting facts obtained by more objective means. The information and attitudes expressed in an autobiography are frequently different from those given in conversation (2:43).

LIMITATIONS

If accepted at face value, autobiographies may be misleading. In the attempt to justify his behavior, the subject may distort the significance of particular experiences. For example, a girl who was convicted of stealing might overemphasize her poverty; a truant boy might give undue weight to his parent's harshness or his teacher's injustice. Sometimes a student's autobiography is influenced by the literature he has been reading, the plays or movies he has seen, or, in fact, by any recent experience. For example, the influence of Clarence Day's *Life with Father* was clearly evident in a delightful autobiography written by a gifted, well-adjusted adolescent. As a source of information about the student's environment, the autobiography must be checked whenever possible by objective evidence.

RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

The autobiography varies in its validity, depending upon the conditions under which it is obtained. Among the most desirable conditions are the following:

1. The students must have a readiness for writing autobiographies. Allport emphasized Stern's point of view that
A personal document [cannot] be produced to order at any arbitrary point in a person's life, but must wait until there is a period of change and transition which brings with it a desire for stock-taking or for planning new lines of action (2:71).
2. They must understand the assignment. English teachers frequently suggest the preliminary reading of works such as *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, John Muir's *Story of My Boyhood and Youth*, Helen Keller's *Story of My Life*, Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery*, and Selma Lagerlöf's *Memories of My Childhood*. For the sake of obtaining autobiographies uninfluenced by literary forms, it is better to have the students write their own first and read others' autobiographies later. Likewise, suggestions as to style and form may decrease spontaneity and focus the student's attention on literary considerations, at the cost of psychological authenticity.
3. They must appreciate its value. If the autobiography is written for counseling purposes rather than as an English composition, the stu-

dent should recognize it as an opportunity to get a clear-eyed view of his life and to seek help from the counselor.

4. Students must be assured that their confidences will not be violated. If autobiographies are obtained as a class exercise, the students should feel certain that their words will be kept confidential and not be read in class or by any other person unless the writer gives his permission.
5. The person who obtains the personal document must maintain a relationship of permissiveness and mutual trust and respect. This relationship between the student and the person for whom he writes the autobiography largely determines its psychological value. Unless the student feels free to be sincere, candid, and accurately introspective, the autobiography will have little diagnostic or therapeutic significance.
6. He must interpret the autobiography in the light of other information he has obtained about the individual.

RESEARCH NEEDED

The most profitable research on the autobiography would be that in which the value of this technic is studied as part of a pattern rather than in contrast to other technics.

By means of the autobiographical technic, a series of researches might be made on the kind of situations-as-perceived that evoke certain emotional responses, delinquent reactions, and escape mechanisms. Researches along this line would add greatly to our knowledge of the situation-response mechanism by supplying precise evidence about what is now only a vague generalization, namely, that the same external situation calls forth markedly different responses from individuals according to the way they perceive it.

The Life History

NATURE OF THE LIFE HISTORY

The life history is more formal than the autobiography and puts more emphasis on cultural influences. At its best, it reveals the content of the person's mind, especially his reflections on past experiences in the perspective of the present. His interpretation of his life is more significant than his experiences per se. The life history has been defined by Dollard as

a deliberate attempt to define the growth of a person in a cultural milieu and to make theoretical sense of it. It might include both biographical and autobio-

graphical documents. It is not just an account of a life with events separately identified like beads on a string (17:3).

The life history should give a picture of the person moving through a given culture, reacting to it, and being changed by it. It is a still undeveloped phase of "culture-personality study." Conflict situations naturally occupy a prominent place in the life history, for it is in these that the individual works out a philosophy of life and a conception of his place in society. The life history obviously does not lend itself to standardization. Anything so spontaneous and original as the subjective life of a person can hardly be evoked by a series of questions. Accordingly, an unguided rather than a guided interview or introduction to its writing would be preferred. "No comfortable certainty exists as to what an adequate life history document will eventually look like" (17:2).

CRITERIA FOR JUDGING A LIFE HISTORY

To make the life-history technic inherently scientific, Dollard has proposed the following criteria:

- I. The subject must be viewed as a specimen in a cultural series.
- II. The organic motors of action ascribed must be socially relevant.
- III. The peculiar role of the family group in transmitting the culture must be recognized.
- IV. The specific method of elaboration of organic materials into social behavior must be shown.
- V. The continuous related character of experience from childhood through adulthood must be stressed.
- VI. The "social situation" must be carefully and continuously specified as a factor.
- VII. The life-history material itself must be organized and conceptualized (17:8).

These criteria cannot be adequately comprehended without study and without applying them to selected life histories. This Dollard has done in his excellent monograph, and it would be futile merely to paraphrase his discussion here. The life history that conforms to Dollard's seven criteria must obviously be written by a person who has a mastery of the culture in which he expects to take life histories. He must be aided by the subject in developing the document.

EXAMPLES OF LIFE HISTORIES

The examples of life histories to which Dollard applied his seven criteria are (1) Adler's *The Case of Miss R* (1); (2) Clifford Shaw's *The Jack-Roller* (53); (3) Jessie Taft's *Thirty-One Treatment Contacts with a Seven Year Old Boy as Preparation for Placement in a Foster Home* (69:113-273); (4) Thomas and Znaniecki's *Life-Record of an Immigrant*

(70:1915-2226); and (5) H. G. Wells's *Experiment in Autobiography* (73). Shaw's *The Jack-Roller* gives the reader a vivid insight into the mind of a juvenile delinquent. Thomas and Znaniecki's life histories of Polish peasants illustrate the research and sociological potentialities of the personal document. Though described from the point of view of the individual reacting to them, the situations at the same time reflect great intellectual movements and changes in world affairs. This technic combines study of the personality with study of the social forces interacting with it.

As a tool of research, the life history is still under suspicion. But there is some evidence that its reliability may be increased if the data are obtained from a person who appreciates the fact that the document he helps to create will have scientific value.

The Diary

NATURE OF DIARY

A diary might be described as an autobiography written concurrently with experience rather than in retrospect. It is often more specialized than the autobiography. In some instances in which strictly experimental devices have failed to contribute anything to the solution of certain problems of individual differences, the diary has been more successful. Many problems are revealed, though none is solved, by the diary method alone.

VALUES OF DIARY

A naïve and sincere diary may reveal an adolescent's yearnings; it may give considerable insight into his intensified desire for friendship, heterosexual relationships, and life goals or purposes. Diaries of seriously disturbed adolescents, though difficult to obtain, give valuable evidence about the gradual and insidious onset of mental disorders (28).

In addition to their value in the understanding of individuals, diaries offer an opportunity for the study of personality in general. The personnel worker will undoubtedly gain insight into adolescent development by reading the quotations and comments in a book such as Iovetz-Tereshchenko's *Friendship-Love in Adolescence* (31). This is a compilation of data obtained from a number of sources—diaries and other writings of adolescents, interviews with them, questionnaires filled out by them, observations of their behavior, and introspective, retrospective reports of adults on their adolescent experiences.

German sources, especially the work of Stern and Bühler referred to in *Experimental Social Psychology* (43:571), will also interest personnel

workers. From Keckeissen's study (35) of moral problems and character traits as revealed by diaries kept as an assignment by 145 high school freshman girls, emotional instability and a "tendency to sadness" emerged as two outstanding factors in maladjustment. Even the assigned diary may throw light on the inner world of adolescents.

For research that attempts to establish norms of behavior, the diary is unsatisfactory because of sampling errors. It is probable that less than 50 per cent of adolescents keep detailed, analytical diaries, and that diaries are written much more frequently by girls than by boys. The majority of diaries are started at about the beginning of puberty. Of the group who keep diaries, relatively few would relinquish them into an outsider's hands. Until the proportion of adolescents in various countries and in various socio-economic groups who keep diaries is ascertained, no generalization regarding adolescent characteristics can be made from this source of data. Moreover, as Murphy and Murphy suggested, among those who keep diaries there is perhaps "an undue proportion whose contacts are unsatisfactory and whose need to 'talk out' their emotional problems can be satisfied in no other way" (43:571). Whatever the selective factors, the group that keeps diaries is not likely to be representative of the total adolescent population, and those who donate their diaries for research purposes are still more highly selected. However, for research that aims to understand the springs of behavior and the way in which individuals view themselves and their environment, diaries may yield valuable data.

CONTROLLED DIARY METHOD

The strong point of the diary is that it represents a continuous, spontaneous, prompt recording of one's activities. When this is combined with systematic attention to the completeness of the record and the adequacy of the sampling, scientific requirements are more nearly met. A number of investigators have used the controlled diary method. Kambouropoulou (34) studied individual differences in the sense of humor by asking one hundred women students to keep daily records of every situation that produced a laugh. More than four thousand instances of laughter were recorded and classified, and a study was then made of the tendency for particular situations consistently to evoke laughter. From fifty-one college girls Gates (24) obtained records of all instances in which anger was aroused during one week. Flügel (21) instructed nine subjects to keep a record of feelings over a thirty-day period. Every few minutes they were to jot down the feeling they were experiencing at the moment, its cause, the degree of its pleasantness or unpleasantness, the time of day, and the duration of the feeling in minutes. As might be

expected in so difficult a task, the records, in most cases, fell far short of supplying the data desired.

Recording an activity or feeling at the time of its occurrence eliminates at least one source of error, that of delayed memory; but it presents the difficulty, more serious for some persons than for others, of dividing attention between the activity and the recording. An occasional inventory of one's activities and feeling responses is wholesome, but an excess of introspection may inhibit one's normal ongoing activities.

The Daily Schedule

The purpose of the daily twenty-four-hour schedule is to secure a continuous recording of an individual's activities. Personal documents are a valuable supplement to this technic; they show what daily activities mean to the individual. As this technic has been described in detail elsewhere (65:295-321; 66:356-69), it will only be mentioned here.

The Questionnaire to Students

The questionnaire combines many of the weak points of other technics with but few of their strengths. It is subjective, depends upon delayed memory, and is accurate or inaccurate depending upon the degree of rapport and upon the subject's possession of the information desired.

FORMS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

The simple, direct questionnaire branches out into many forms—the personality or adjustment inventory, the individual intelligence examination, the interview questionnaire, and the biographical questionnaire.

The personality or adjustment inventory has not successfully met the test of research. It is clearly influenced by deliberate or unwitting distortions, and its value depends upon “the good faith and the co-operation” of the subjects. An excellent appraisal of verbal methods of assessing personality will be found in Vernon's monograph, published in 1938 (72). While recognizing sources of error in personality inventories, Vernon suggests that their “fictional” nature may be a merit rather than a defect. If their results are treated qualitatively and are compared with other sources of information about the individual, self-deceptions and self-concepts may be discovered. Ellis' more recent review of the validity of personality questionnaire, published in the *Psychological Bulletin* in 1946 (19), presented the following analysis of studies reporting validity coefficients:

If we consider the direct validation experiments of group-administered personality questionnaires—that is to say, investigations where test results were evaluated against outside clinical criteria such as behavior problem diagnosis.

delinquency, psychiatric and psychological diagnosis, and ratings by friends and associates—we find that out of 162 reported studies, 65 show positive, 26 questionably positive, and 71 negative results. If we add to these evaluations reports of experiments where the validity of personality tests was indirectly investigated—that is, by intercorrelating them with similar tests or estimating respondents' over-estimating tendencies—we have 97 additional studies, 15 of which give positive, 18 questionably positive, and 64 negative indications of validity.

This makes a grand total of 259 investigations (some of which, however, overlap): 80 positive or mainly positive; 44 questionably positive; and 135 negative or mainly negative. Obviously this is not a very good record for the validity of paper and pencil personality questionnaires (19:422).

Ellis concluded

that group-administered paper and pencil personality questionnaires are of dubious value in distinguishing between groups of adjusted and maladjusted individuals, and that they are of much less value in the diagnosis of individual adjustment or personality traits (19:426).

Since this specialized form of questionnaire is usually classified as a personality test, no further reference will here be made to this type nor to the individual intelligence tests, which are highly standardized oral questionnaires.

The planned interview, in which a person is asked to review systematically his past experience, is essentially an oral autobiography. It is a means of discovering and interpreting what he has thought, done, and been. From his account of his family background, early development, schooling, work history, and present activities and interests, the counselor can obtain evidence about his maturity, initiative, sociability, influence, and other qualities important in making educational and vocational plans. The weighted application blank used by many employment interviewers adds a quantitative emphasis to the interviewer's qualitative appraisal of the applicant. The possible bias of the interviewer should be recognized in the interview questionnaire. Although a large number of interviewers tend to iron out the effect of bias on the answers, a few words spoken at the time a questionnaire is being administered can make a substantial difference in the results obtained (39).

EXAMPLES OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaires in schools and colleges are used mainly to get facts and to ascertain student attitudes and opinions. They are frequently given to homeroom, orientation, or other group guidance classes to get information quickly about students' home background, leisure activities, interests, study habits, and educational and vocational plans. For example, Brooke and Heston (8) found that college students making good

grades violate almost as many of the approved "how to study" recommendations as do the poor students in the same classes.

The form and content of the questionnaire vary with the purpose for which it is intended. The autobiographical questionnaire has already been mentioned. Other questionnaires deal with educational and vocational plans and include such questions as:

What subjects are you taking this year?

Why did you choose these subjects?

Which subjects do you wish you could have taken?

What do you expect to do when you leave high school?

Have you chosen your life work?

Why did you choose this occupation?

What do you know about this occupation?

Is there anything you have especially liked about this high school?

Anything you have especially disliked?

If you had three wishes, what would they be?

If you were a teacher, what would you do to help pupils make the most of themselves?

What do you think is most important in life—what are your goals and purposes?

PROCEDURE IN GETTING QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

In general, information should not be collected by means of questionnaires if it can be obtained, without undue expenditure of time, from records, observation, or interviews. Before making or giving a questionnaire, the counselor should be clear as to the purpose for which it is to be used. In drawing it up, he should include only items which he will use and which the student or parent can and will answer. He should make it as short as is consistent with its purpose, word the questions simply and clearly, and give it a preliminary tryout. If possible, he should get the assistance of a few members of the group for whom the questionnaire is intended, to help him in planning, making, and administering it. Young (75) emphasized the importance of studying the point of view, background knowledge, and cultural milieu of the group to be questioned.

Roslow, Wulfek, and Corby (49) pointed out that the tendency to overstatement is strong, and that the use of stereotypes or emotionally charged words produces changes in the responses. Even a slight alteration of wording may bring about a shift. Leading questions, illogical sequences of questions, ambiguous and unfamiliar wording, and questions that invite inaccurate answers should be avoided. Caution should also be exercised in interpretation; any interpretation that strays too far away from the actual answers will be open to error.

Certain controversial issues about questionnaires have been studied; for example, the relative values of the written as compared with the interview form. A comparison of responses from the same persons by mail and by interview (22) showed that people who, because of their educational and vocational background, express themselves easily in writing and are interested in the topic, answer questions more satisfactorily by mail than in an interview. Wilson (44 [Ch. II]) pointed out concretely the values and limitations of the questionnaire in evaluating a guidance program.

The problem of whether or not to have persons sign their names to questionnaires has been studied by several investigators. Olson concluded that a group of college students "will report significantly more symptoms when they do not need to sign than when they do" (45:449). Using the college form of *Mooney's Problem Check List*, Fischer (20) first asked 102 upper-class college women in the field of psychology to sign their names. He found that they underlined, on the average, about the same number of problems as they did a week later when they did not sign their names. On the *Bell Adjustment Inventory* administered to high school girls, there were negligible differences between the groups that signed and those that did not sign their names (15). Spencer also found that

had the instrument [a self-report questionnaire designed to measure certain types of personality conflict] been taken under signatures, not only would a large number of the subjects have resented, evaded, and falsified some of the items, but such deception would have been greatest among those having the greatest amount of conflict. In short, the purpose of the instrument—the measurement of conflict—would have been invalidated (60:194).

In some of these studies when the material was qualitatively analyzed, important differences were found. Damrin (15) found that high school girls were less truthful in the area of social adjustment than in any other area. Fischer (20) found that the mean number of problems encircled as *serious* tended to be significantly greater when signatures were withheld. Olson reported that

under the unsigned condition persons are somewhat readier to report general feelings of unreality, boredom, and desire for escape, as well as specific physical symptoms with a neurotic implication. Data on likes, specific fears, and impulses are reported with approximately the same frequency under the two conditions (45:449).

RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

Since 1939, Hubbard (29) has reviewed research on the reliability and validity of questionnaires. The reliability of questionnaire responses can

be ascertained by repeating the questionnaire with the same group. Reliability is less accurately represented by the coefficient of correlation between total scores than by the percentage of changes in response to each question from the first to the second administration. Several investigations on the stability of questionnaire responses (4, 10, 32, 38, 46, 51, 56) agree fairly well on the following conclusions: (1) The percentage of change in the two written responses of the same persons on the same questions is usually less than 20 per cent. (2) Some items are more reliable than others; the greatest change is found on subjective personal items such as attitudes and opinions, the least on objective and factual questions. (3) A score obtained by summation of reactions is usually statistically reliable, but the reliability coefficients of total scores are deceptively high because differences in specific items tend to neutralize one another in the total. (4) Questionnaires are more reliable as measures of opinion with some persons than with others.

The validity of responses on questionnaires can be ascertained only for factual items; there are no satisfactory criteria for the validation of opinions and attitudes. A feasible method of validating the responses of elementary school children to questions about their home conditions was used by Wylie (74). He first obtained the pupils' responses to the factual questions; then, several weeks later, he sent social workers into forty-one of their homes to check on the children's answers. Twenty-nine complete reports were obtained. In answering a typical and representative question, one child in four gave an incorrect answer; but the sum of the answers of 199 children was almost nine-tenths correct. Even this small number of cases is sufficient to suggest that the answers of any one individual under the conditions of the study are not to be given too great credence. The questionnaire is particularly vulnerable when the information is of a personal nature and linked with the subject's self-interest.

The value of questionnaires depends largely upon the wisdom of the counselor in selecting suitable items for study, in constructing a sound questionnaire, in obtaining a representative sampling, and in gaining the co-operation of the persons answering it.

Little research has been done on this instrument, considering the wide use to which it has been put. Research is needed on conditions affecting the truthfulness of responses, the form of question that will give the most reliable results, the relative merits of the check list versus the written-answer form, the appropriateness of a given type of questionnaire to individuals of different ages and levels of intelligence, and the point at which the law of diminishing returns begins to operate in regard to the ratio of validity to length.

Letter Writing as a Technic

Letters may contribute to personnel work in two main ways: as a source of information about individuals and institutions, and as a means of giving information to students and parents.

Letters written spontaneously by pupils to teachers and other adults in whom they have confidence frequently contain significant biographical material. For example, one series of letters written over a period of years by a high school girl to her Sunday-school teacher gives a most valuable developmental picture of the girl. They show changes in interest, growth in emotional maturity, changes in philosophy of life, and an unusual objectivity in viewing and evaluating her own behavior. In addition, they show marked improvements in spelling, writing, and the form of written expression. A series of letters published by Allport (3) covered a period of eleven and a half years. Unself-conscious and ingenuous, they reveal unconscious motives, needs, fears, and conflicts. In an article entitled "Personal Counseling Through Letters," Boorman (8) pointed out the opportunities personal letters offer, not only for counsel on specific problems presented by a boy or girl, but also for constructive and stimulating comments on his or her activities and for the establishment of a long-term friendship. Writing a personal letter to an adult friend frequently enables a young person to think through his problem more objectively or to formulate his philosophy more clearly. A certain type of reticent adolescent who will not talk freely in a face-to-face situation may become confidential in a letter.

Students' letters not only reveal personal data; they also keep teachers and counselors informed about conditions in schools and colleges and about vocational opportunities. Graduates who have entered vocations or higher institutions of learning may tell high school advisers about lacks and deficiencies which they now recognize in their high school education; about methods of instruction and problems of adjustment in their new environment; about morale, social problems, and other matters not dealt with in college catalogues or other published sources.

A second type of letter is that which is sent out by administrative officers, and less frequently by teachers, to parents and pupils. One example of this type is the mimeographed sheet which was sent to parents of pupils in the Summer Demonstration School of Teachers College. This was a cordially worded letter which explained briefly the purpose of the school and the unusual opportunities it offered to the children. It asked for the general co-operation of the parents as well as for their attention to one or two troublesome details. Another letter was given to the boys and girls, explaining the privilege which they

enjoyed in being admitted to the school and the necessity for their co-operation to promote happy living together. To this letter were attached two separate sheets on which were listed a few special items in which their co-operation was especially requested: attendance, and the use of lockers, dressing rooms, and elevator. Then followed a few simply worded directions regarding study periods, supplies, fees, health service, and swimming.

Another effective communication to students was President Glenn Frank's letter to all high school students who ranked in the upper quarter of the distribution of intelligence scores in a state-wide survey, but who were not going to college. Other types of letters to students are those giving orientation pointers to entering freshmen, commending individuals doing exceptionally good work in relation to their capacity, or carrying a friendly message on some special occasion.

There must, of course, be a check on the efficacy of letters. Some may have very little influence on the recipient. A certain rapport between the recipient and the writer of the letter is necessary for the best results. Obviously, there is dynamite in carelessly written letters and those including ill-considered statements. As is true of every other personnel technic, there is potential harm as well as good in letters. In order to help students most constructively and effectively, the counselor must select appropriate methods for each individual and use them with wisdom and understanding.

Concluding Statement

Personal documents offer a person opportunity to express his thoughts and feelings in writing. For some persons, writing is easier than talking; they feel freer to be frank and to tell their innermost thoughts in a composition, questionnaire, or autobiography than in a face-to-face relationship. Teachers and counselors must never violate these confidences. The personal document is of value only insofar as the student considers it a part of the total process by which he is helped to become a more mature person.

CHAPTER V

The Interview

The interview is the heart of the counseling process, to which other technics are contributory (139). The essential feature of the interview is a dynamic face-to-face relationship in which the counselee is helped to develop insights that lead to self-realization. It is an experience, valuable in and for itself; as a present period of time to be lived fully; it may serve as a model for wholehearted participation in other hours (4, 145). It is a learning situation for both interviewer and interviewee.

Although this description rules out the casual conversation, it includes a wide variety of interviews, ranging from a short conversation in which a student's need for information is quickly met, to a long series of psychotherapeutic interviews (137:498). It may take many interviews to help a person focus his attention on the positive elements in his life and look at the world through different eyes. For this new orientation, the student also needs experiences that reinforce the insights he gains in the interviews.

Interviewing is a complex process. There are an infinite number of individual differences in interviewers, in the persons being interviewed, in the relations between them, and in the setting and content of interviews. Any interview is also influenced by events in the past and by a foreshadowing of future plans.

Like other technics, the interview should not be viewed as an isolated event, remote from daily life, but as a part of the person's total development, as a motif in the pattern of his life. As part of the process of the student's self-realization, even a short contact between classes or on the street becomes significant.

Even more than with other technics, the success of an interview depends upon the personality of the interviewer. His philosophy and

attitude of respect for people and his genuine faith in their ability to use the resources within themselves determine to a large extent his successful use of technics. Over and above this basic philosophy, technical training is necessary. Wartime research showed the ineffectiveness of the diagnostic interview used by officers and other persons not psychologically trained. More recent studies in the same field show that competent psychologists are using the interview and other subjective or intuitive methods with good results. It is a truism that any method works well only in skilled hands.

Although a personnel worker cannot become an effective interviewer merely by reading a book on the subject, he can improve his technic by a combination of methods: reading about the theory and practice of interviewing; seeing and discussing dramatizations of recorded interviews (135); participating in role playing, in which he takes the part sometimes of the interviewer and sometimes of the interviewee; and, last but not least, conducting and evaluating his own interviews.

The Interview in Various Fields

Professional workers in many fields use the interview to get information, to acquire a better understanding of people, and to help them make a good adjustment. The field of law has contributed to our knowledge of the reliability of evidence, and of the influence which different types of questions and different interviewing personalities exert upon the accuracy and range of testimony. In the field of journalism, methods of establishing rapport have been developed. In industry, the employment interview has shown the possibilities in a face-to-face situation for appraising an individual for a specific purpose (87). Psychology has developed controlled interviews to measure intelligence and personality tendencies, and is concerned with the further development of psychological counseling. Psychiatry and psychoanalysis are increasingly concerned with preventing maladjustment and with discovering shorter methods of treatment. Their practitioners have moved from mental hospitals and from the exclusive use of "deep" psychotherapy to briefer interviews in industry, in schools and colleges, and in everyday life. The interview in social work has had a long history of development which has much to contribute to the present extension of interviewing in schools and colleges. Its emphases on the establishment of friendly relationships, on family-centered counseling, and on the therapeutic aspects of the interview are especially valuable. The specialized technics used in each professional field have been described by Bingham and Moore in their well-known book on the interview (21). In the following quotation they

recognized the contribution made in each of these fields to the development of the interview technic:

. . . each type of interview with its peculiar emphasis, resulting in a peculiar effectiveness in attaining a particular goal—a single aspect perhaps of the many-faceted objective of the interview—may suggest to experts in other fields a way of perfecting their own techniques or of critically weighing the validity of their results. Could a single interviewer combine . . . the care and training and objectivity of the interviewer in commercial surveys, the intuitive sympathy of the social worker, the common sense and understanding of the employment interviewer, the technical skills of the specialist in public opinion polls, the patience and insight of the psychiatrist, the educator's breadth of grasp, the self-immolation of the interviewer in employee relations, with the lawyer's facility and the reporter's persistence, he would be no longer in need of the interview as a means of ascertaining facts, for they would be known to him already (21:255-56).

Interviews with Various Emphases

Interviews have also been classified according to their major emphasis such as educational guidance, vocational guidance, marriage counseling, religious counseling, and health counseling.

Only brief descriptions of these different interviewing fields will be given here. There are three reasons for this brevity: (a) the interview technic itself is somewhat similar in the various fields, (b) an adequate discussion of the content of the interview in each field would require volumes, instead of pages, (c) interviewing in special fields has been treated in many other books and articles (132), and (d) almost any kind of interview, except a simple request for information, involves related aspects of a person's life—educational and vocational plans, personality trends, and economic and social factors.

Educational guidance interviews focus on helping a student to make and carry out educational plans in line with his abilities, vocational interests, and financial limitations (135). These interviews will not accomplish their purpose unless the counselor has adequate facts about the individual and about the educational opportunities available to him.

Similarly, vocational guidance interviews require a backlog of facts about the individual and about vocations. Several writers (22, 23, 24, 37) have applied principles of nondirective¹ counseling to vocational guidance interviews; others advocate a modified or completely counselor-centered technic; and still others an eclectic approach (85). The non-directive view was described by Rogers and Wallen:

. . . for the non-directive counselor, educational and vocational difficulties are personal problems. . . . Traditionally, educational or vocational guidance begins with as thorough a diagnosis as possible . . . the crucial point is that the counselor's resources and activities have been mobilized around the initial

¹ For a discussion of the nondirective or client-centered approach see pages 113-119.

problem suggested by the client. Taking tests and answering questions about his past educational and vocational history does not encourage the client to feel that he may discuss other types of problems with the counselor. . . . Detailed information about his test performances and about vocational conditions will be insufficient in helping the client to make the most satisfactory adjustment unless he understands the relation of such information to his own hopes, fears, strivings, and ambitions (119:90-92). (By permission from *Counseling with Returned Servicemen* by Rogers and Wallen, copyrighted, 1946. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.)

Covner (38) concluded from his experience that traditional methods of interviewing result in poor treatment of the emotional complications which are often associated with vocational guidance.

Bingham and Moore, on the other hand, took a definitely directive point of view:

Nowhere is systematic planning more valuable than in the interview for helping a person in the choice of a career. Too often precious time is dissipated on irrelevancies, and crucial issues overlooked, unless the counselor has formulated some good program of topics, and follows it fairly systematically (21:75).

Recognizing the strict limitations on the time of most counselors, Shierson (124) suggested the "quicky" approach, which is completely counselor centered. Brotemarkle (25) also worked out a definite directive technic in which the counselee systematically recalls his work experience and the satisfactions he felt in each job. Finally, he describes a job in which he would find the satisfactions that his former work experiences had given him. Other workers have suggested various aids to the one-contact interview (147).

A fusion of these two points of view seems possible. Equipped with understanding of the individual and knowledge of the opportunities for training and employment open to him, the counselor can create an atmosphere in which the student feels free to consider his vocational plans in his own way and to use the counselor as an aid in the process. The counselor, on his part, feels free to guide this process along realistic lines.

The importance of counseling on marital problems has increased with the rising divorce rate. Writers in this field have contributed more to an understanding of the problems of family relations than to the interview technics used in dealing with them, though Rogers (118, 119) applied the nondirective method to this field also.

Progress has been made in training ministers for their counseling role (17, 64). Several writers have criticized ministers for their tendency to preach in the counseling situation, and have questioned whether they should attempt psychotherapeutic counseling. The fact remains that

they are doing counseling and should be as well prepared as possible for this part of their work (132).

Health counseling (74) is a specialized area only in that the interview follows a health examination or the voluntary mention of a health problem.

Interviews with Various Persons

Interviews may also be classified according to the persons helped. There are interviews with parents, with employees and applicants for jobs, with students in schools and colleges, with veterans, with alcoholics, and with patients in mental hygiene clinics and hospitals.

Interviews with parents are preferably a "joint quest." Parents have much to contribute. Their opportunities for understanding their own child far exceed those of the teacher. Parents can help teachers and counselors understand students. Even though the parents seem to be the cause of the child's problems, they should be treated with consideration and understanding. Baruch (16), Cantor (30), and Peppard (98) warn against giving advice to parents or increasing their feelings of guilt and anxiety. Parents often need counseling or psychotherapy. Rheingold says that an interview with parents for the purpose of interpreting their child's mental retardation, "to be successful, should resemble closely any other therapeutic interview in which the gaining of insight is the objective" (106:143).

Much has been written on employment interviews and employee counseling in industry. Henderson and Hoover (62) summarized the interview methods used by twenty-seven companies in the selection of salesmen. He found that the interview is an important step in the selection procedure in most situations. Its effectiveness varies with the time available, as well as with the quality of the interviewing. Roethlisberger and Dickson (110), Dickson (46), and Cantor (29) presented the need for psychotherapeutic counseling in industry and described technics being used. A much larger number of articles in business and industrial journals (13, 52, 56, 66, 76, 81, 87, 88, 101, 156) describe methods that have been used in different situations, as well as some attempts to validate such methods against subsequent employment records. The following factors are frequently mentioned as essential to successful employment interviews: good personality and adequate training and experience on the part of the interviewer; an analysis of the job which enables the interviewer to know exactly what he is looking for; acceptance of joint responsibility by both interviewer and interviewee in giving and seeking information; the flexible use of a pattern or plan as a guide; the consideration of the individual as a whole in

relation to his fitness for a particular position; the use of the interview for purposes that cannot be served by pamphlets, tests, and other devices. McMurry (80) recommended the combined use of exit interviews and opinion polls followed up by interviews to spot trivial annoyances, unsatisfactory relationships, and other factors that may contribute to poor morale. In another article (81) he concluded from his study of the "patterned interview" that a printed form providing a uniform method of recording specified information and ratings on interviewees enables employers to predict an applicant's job success more accurately than does the usual unstandardized interview.

From the standpoint of the student, interviewing employers is a valuable educational experience. Through these interviews he learns what employers want and how to present his qualifications for a job accurately and clearly.

In schools and colleges interviewing covers a range from very short information-giving contacts to psychotherapeutic counseling in clinical settings. More has been written about interviews in college (12, 36, 51, 63) than in secondary school (44, 129). Combs applied the principles of nondirective interviewing to the counseling of college students, whom he found responsive to this approach. In teachers' colleges an expert counseling service is especially necessary in view of teachers' widespread influence on thousands of children. Baruch (15) reported improvement in over 80 per cent of the slightly and the seriously unadjusted students who were counseled as part of their teacher-education program.

The survey interview is a systematic canvass of all students in a particular group, such as the freshman class. It serves the purpose of supplementing and verifying information needed in the appraisal of every student, in checking on his adjustment to his physical and social environment, and on his health and vocational plans. Still more important, the initial survey interviews help establish a friendly relationship, which will pave the way for future contacts. Achilles (2) described a comprehensive interview of this type which had as its aim to guide the individual toward a more satisfying, self-confident, purposeful state of mind.

The voluntary interview presupposes a friendly relationship, often established in an initial survey interview. Good rapport is almost assured when the student, of his own accord, seeks to use the counselor's knowledge and skill. Students should be invited, not compelled, to confer. Voluntary interviews cover a wide range of content, from serious personal problems to friendly chats. Many are concerned with extra-curricular activities, and thus contribute, in a marked degree, to effective education for leadership. Dr. Marion Brown presented an excellent

demonstration interview with a student who had recently been elected president of the student council. It was an interview in which the student received encouragement, plus an opportunity to think through her new responsibilities for herself. The role of the interviewer was to listen, to make available printed sources of information about leadership in general and student councils in particular, to ask questions that evoked thought and constructive attitudes, and to help the student gain insight into methods of democratic administration which she might develop in her new capacity as a leader.

Special-problem interviews are often requested by the personnel worker. Covering many aspects of school life, they give opportunity for instruction and practice in the technic of problem solving. An interview concerning a disciplinary problem, for example, should give the student encouragement to try to understand why he needed to behave in that way. The interviewer should avoid making any accusation. He should try to prevent the student from lying about the matter; if the student seems about to give a false account of the situation, the interviewer can terminate the contact with the remark, "Suppose you think about the matter a little longer and come back to see me day after tomorrow." Part of the skill in this type of interview lies in being able to make the student understand that, although his behavior is disapproved, he himself is accepted. This was skillfully done by a counselor with a boy whose parents were primarily concerned about his "bringing disgrace upon the family." In a series of interviews the counselor repeatedly showed that she understood how he felt, that she accepted his feelings no matter how "bad" they were, and, by her manner and attitude, that she liked him as a person who had many good qualities and potentialities. The disciplinary conference thus becomes a means of helping a student to correct a trait or tendency that might seriously interfere with his future success.

Interviewing the returning serviceman has received a good deal of emphasis during the postwar period (5, 6). Gregory (58) criticized existing programs as being based on anticipated needs of servicemen rather than on their actual needs. He urged counselors to interview skillfully to find out what the veterans' needs really are and how they feel. Rogers and Wallen's book (119) is the most detailed application of the nondirective approach to this field of counseling.

Counseling of alcoholics has become a specialized field in response to the need indicated by figures showing that there are approximately 360,000 persons in the United States who drink excessively. Myerson (94) found little difference in the effectiveness of the various therapies which he evaluated. Although the activities of Alcoholics Anonymous are reported to be effective, Moore (89) is less optimistic about the

results of treatment of alcoholics, even with psychotherapeutic methods.

Interviewing has been much more extensively studied in mental hygiene clinics and hospitals, and it is in this area that the largest number of cases and research articles have been written (3, 4, 8, 30, 63, 75, 92, 98, 145, 146, 157).

Kinds of Interviews

Samples from the wide range of interviews actually held in colleges and secondary schools will give the reader a realistic overview of interviewing technics as they are actually employed in this field.

INTAKE INTERVIEW

The first interview with a person, usually called the intake interview in clinics and guidance centers, serves a number of useful purposes: to find out what the person wants and expects, to acquaint him with the nature of the services, to obtain a case history, to reach agreement on the fee for the service, to decide whether the case is to be accepted or referred to another agency.

BRIEF-TALK CONTACTS

In schools and colleges, in evening schools, and in recreation centers, many of the counselor's contacts are only five or ten minutes in length. One survey (136) showed that high school deans of girls were spending, on the average, less than twenty minutes in each interview. These interviews dealt with progress in academic work, emotional development, choice of further education, choice of course, absence and tardiness, social development, health, vocations, and part-time work. In home economics, physical education, art, and other informal laboratory classes, the instructor has many natural opportunities for brief interviews. If he applies the simple basic principles of interviewing, these brief contacts will take their rightful place as part of a total counseling process.

Experience during World War II lends support to the belief that even a short contact may be helpful. Closson and Hildreth (33) divided one thousand subjects examined in Selective Service into two groups. In the experimental group the interviewer tried to discover each subject's "weak spot," and to offer appropriate advice, in an interview lasting only about five minutes. In the control group this type of interview was not held. One month later each person was rated by his company commander on the nature of his adjustment. The officers did not know which of the persons rated belonged to the experimental group. Careful statistical treatment showed that the interviewed group had a signifi-

cantly higher percentage of good ratings and a lower percentage of unusually poor ratings. A possible explanation of the apparent efficacy of these short interviews is that the individuals felt that someone in the impersonal military organization was taking an interest in them. Some of those interviewed may also have acted upon the insight gained in the brief contact.

In United Services Organization centers many brief interviews were held. These usually comprised only one meeting; there was no time for formal diagnosis. The reported effectiveness of these brief contacts (6) was attributed to the discriminative, realistic reassurance given, to the stimulation of the interviewee to think through the problem himself, and to the acceptance of him as a person.

In these very short interviews a number of things may be accomplished:

1. A good relationship may be initiated or reinforced.
2. A student may get information he needs at the moment in order to go ahead with his thinking and planning.
3. Even a short contact may serve to release pent-up feeling. The experience of "getting this off my chest" is illustrated by the following excerpt from a short conversation with a student who came into the counselor's office very angry about an incident that had just happened in class:

"Student: You know, I hate Miss —— for making me feel inferior. I'd like to do something to get even with her. Maybe that's not right but it's the way I feel.

Counselor: You feel a little guilty about hating Miss ——, but still it's a very real feeling at present.

Student: Yes. But, you know, I don't seem to feel quite so strongly now that I've told you about it. You're the first person I've even mentioned it to.

Counselor: It helps to talk about things you've been keeping to yourself; getting them out into the open makes them seem less important. . . ."

If one merely relieves tension and clarifies negative feelings, this is a better use of limited interview time than arriving at a quick, easy solution that may prove superficial or fictitious.

4. A short interview may give the student encouragement to explore the situation as he has not done before and to see it more clearly and objectively. For example, in a five-minute interview about his being late for school, a student said:

". . . You know, some mornings I hate the thought of going to school. Maybe I'm lazy, and yet maybe it's because I don't like the

classes, or because school doesn't seem to get me anywhere. Maybe it's because I haven't got friends in school; the other kids don't seem to like me; they don't take me into their crowd. . . ."

Another example is from a few minutes' conversation with a college student who stopped by after class and said to the instructor:

"When you looked at me this period and I didn't say anything I felt stupid and angry at myself for not taking part in the class discussion. I feel so insecure, and wonder why. I want to ask questions and I have good ideas—the same ideas that other people have and make a hit by saying. But I have a panicky feeling; I can't get out what I want to say. . . ."

Instructor: Have you taken part in any of your classes recently?

Student: Yes, in a small English class.

Instructor: Tell me more about that—

The student described the situation, and the instructor said: "Perhaps I can create more of the same kind of situation in my class. I'll try. Will you help me work it out tomorrow?"

5. If the "stage is set," the student may gain some insight in a short interview. If a class discussion, for example, has started the student thinking, the short conversation may help him to clarify and personalize his thought. Or he may have done a good deal of thinking following an interview, and may feel the need for a short contact with the counselor to report progress and to clear up a new point. The counselor may shift the course of the talk from friendly conversation to counseling procedures.
6. The student may make a plan in one of these short contacts, or, more likely, may improve upon a plan he has already thought out.
7. The short, informal, unplanned interview may lead to further contacts.

Even the very short interview may accomplish something. It is to be viewed as a segment in a series of experiences which *in toto* accomplish the same things as a longer interview: release of tension, clarification, insight, and plans for a better adjustment in life situations.

SINGLE-HOUR INTERVIEWS

These, too, are a more common type of interview in schools and colleges than a long series of interviews. Counselors and social workers who have done this kind of interviewing say that it usually passes through three stages common also to a series of contacts (75): an exploratory stage in which the student tries to clarify the situation for himself and the counselor; an interpretive stage in which the counselor reflects the student's positive feelings and goes beyond them if the student seems

ready for such interpretation; and the planning stage in which the student begins to think about the adjustments he can make in life situations. As Reynolds (105) pointed out, the interviewer, in these short contacts, feels the need to make the best use of the limited time available; he cannot rectify mistakes later. Jessie Taft (146) described in detail the method by which a shy, inhibited child who had had a violent sex experience was helped, during an office interview, to gain insight into her underlying normal interest in the experience.

CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERVIEWS

In a series of articles published in the *Journal of Clinical Psychology* during 1945, 1946, and 1947, Thorne described the technics of directive or traditional psychotherapeutic counseling. He emphasized as features of psychological counseling case-history data and active participation by the counselor in the re-education of the client.

PSYCHIATRIC INTERVIEWS

The psychiatric interview and psychological counseling have much in common. They vary with the personality, philosophy, and orientation of the individual worker and with the setting in which they are used. (For examples of interview methods used by different psychiatrists see Witmer's book, *Psychiatric Interviews with Children* [157].) Witmer described the psychiatric interview as a unique social relationship in which a patient can "be himself," free from the pressure of having to play a part, of having to be a certain kind of person in order to secure approval or to live up to his own conception of a lovable human being (157:42). The psychiatrist achieves this relationship by making clear the nature of the therapy and the limits of time, space, and aggressive behavior permitted; by not passing judgment on the individual; and by being sensitive to his feeling and thinking. He always keeps open the path of communication with the client. During the interview time the individual brings into the open material pertinent to his problem. The subject matter of the interview is important. It is quite possible, with an inexperienced worker, for the client to talk about matters unrelated to his real problem or to play with toys without revealing any of his deeper feelings and relationships. By encouraging the client's free expression of his feelings and attitudes and sometimes by questioning and making interpretations as well as by maintaining an accepting attitude, the psychiatrist helps the client to gain in self-understanding and self-direction and to handle his present conflicts. He may even ask the client to think over a certain question between interviews.

PSYCHOANALYTIC INTERVIEWS

These interviews likewise vary with the orientation and training of the worker and the school of thought to which he belongs. The basic tools of psychoanalysis are dream interpretation, free association, and the interpretation of the patient-therapist relationship. Some analysts instruct their patients in the technic of free association—relinquishing of rational control and telling everything that comes to mind; other analysts allow the patient more leeway regarding the manner in which he wants to use the analytical hour, e.g. in the discussion of immediate problems. The material brought up by the patient is interpreted by the analyst. Some analysts are genetic in their approach, i.e. they are concerned with the origins of maladjustment in early childhood and they relate the patient's present conflicts to his past experiences. Other analysts focus their attention on the patient's complex present character structure with its many conflicting tendencies; their approach is dynamic in an immediate rather than in a genetic sense.

The relationship between the patient and the analyst may be viewed as a transference relationship in which the analyst plays the role of a parent substitute through whom the patient relives early childhood experiences. In other instances the patient-analyst relationship represents and reflects the kind and quality of the patient's broader human relationships.

The counselor in an educational institution should have some appreciation of the range and variety of counseling and psychotherapy in order to have a better understanding of his own role and to make helpful referrals if necessary. He should also be aware of the relationships between interviewing and tests, and between individual contacts and group work.

THE INTERVIEW FORM OF TEST

The gap between the interview, on the one hand, and personality tests and inventories, on the other, is bridged in several ways. Hovey (65) proposed a self-interview inventory. It works this way: The subject is given 360 cards, each having on it a statement relating to an aspect of social, psychological, and vocational adjustment. He is asked to sort these cards into the three categories: *true*, *false*, *cannot say*. This instrument is said to save individual interviewing time. The interview has also been used as a disguised intelligence test (127, 128) and as a means of ascertaining a person's technical vocabulary (83). It has been widely used as an oral test or questionnaire. And the attempt has been made to reduce interview data to quantitative scales comparable to

those derived from tests (31). These definitely directed interviews evoke a much less individual, unique response than does the undirected interview procedure.

GROUP INTERVIEWS

The group interview combines features of the personal interview with group work. It has been used in selecting applicants for admission to college, trainees for special courses, and candidates for various positions. Smith (126) described the successful use of the group interview in selecting students for teacher preparation. Group interviews were held with candidates before they entered college, and were continued during the fall. Thus admission procedures were successfully integrated with the orientation and the continuous guidance of freshmen.

The group interview has been used to select candidates for various positions. The Los Angeles City Civil Service Commission obtained correlations of $+ .35$ to $+ .95$ among several raters, each using a standard form to rate candidates taking an oral examination. The list of items included appearance, maturity of judgment, ability to get along with others, effectiveness of expression, manner and bearing, alertness, and overall evaluation of personal qualifications (90).

A group procedure for selecting trainees for executive positions in a coal-distributing company was described by Fraser (54). It included careful observation of the candidates in a social situation, in a simulated board of directors' meeting, and in informal discussion, as well as in individual testing. This procedure is really a group oral performance test, which Mandell (84) believes is superior in several ways to the oral interview. It may be used as a basis for observing the candidate in either a social or a work situation, and usually takes less time and requires less skill on the part of the examiners.

The use of the group interview for canvassing student opinion on particular topics was reported by Edmiston (49) to have considerable reliability and validity, if the students selected represent the student body as a whole and if they feel free to discuss their views.

RESEARCH INTERVIEWS

The use of the interview for research purposes is another large and important area for study. In this field also, incidentally, the same controversy between the relative values of the definitely structured, formal oral-questionnaire type of interview and the informal nondirective type is now in progress. Since this chapter is primarily concerned with the use of the interview in counseling, references on the research interview will not be included.

Underlying Theory and Guiding Principles

Successful interviewing stems from a deep understanding of the purpose and nature of the process, a basic philosophy, and a sound personal orientation to people. Without a consideration of this deep-rooted and pervasive attitude, a study of specific technics is at best superficial. For this reason part of this chapter is devoted to theoretical considerations.

THE DIRECTIVE-NONDIRECTIVE CONTROVERSY

The terminology of this controversy is misleading; there is always some degree of direction, however subtle, on the part of the counselor. Merely by his facial expression and manner, or by noncommittal "uh-huhs," or by selective reflection of the interviewee's feeling, he in a sense causes the individual to continue or discontinue his preferred kind of outpouring. However, the two points of view must be recognized (7), and a thorough understanding of them will do much to clarify our understanding of interviewing. Using *client-centered* as a synonym for *non-directive* is likewise confusing, for many kinds of skillful interviewing are client centered.

First, let us view interviews on a scale or continuum ranging from the least to the most directive. This will show that the two types are not separate and distinct entities. The picture is somewhat like this:

The counselor may

1. Merely listen; be wholly receptive and passive. (This is *not* nondirective interviewing.)
2. Create an atmosphere in which the individual can go ahead in the process of self-reorganization. Nondirective interviewing at its best, was described by Allen as a

more intensified and consciously directed growth experience . . . not essentially different from any other life experience in which two people participate. . . . And the only thing a therapist can do for anyone in a therapeutic experience is to help that person gradually to be himself, to help him gain a sounder evaluation of his own difference and the consequent freedom to make creative, responsible use of that difference in the continuing realities of his life . . . (4:45, 54). (Reprinted from *Psychotherapy with Children*, by Frederick H. Allen, by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Copyright 1942 by the publishers.)

3. Facilitate the process of self-understanding in various ways, as the interviewee indicates need for help: give information; obtain objective evidence from tests; occasionally ask a penetrating question that helps the individual to clarify a point, or opens up new areas for consideration; suggest resources available to the individual.

4. Push or "probe" to make the client think through crucial aspects of the problem that he has avoided.
5. Use diagnostic information to reach a solution which he tries to "sell" to the counselee.
6. Come to a conclusion before the interview and force his advice upon the counselee.
7. Try to enforce his advice by using pressure—threatening withdrawal of privileges or other disciplinary measures.

Second, having viewed the gamut of nondirective-directive interviewing, let us summarize the essential emphases in these two points of view. In directive interviewing, the counselor takes more or less responsibility for laying the course of the interview. To him, case-history data are essential. He plays a supportive role and may reassure the person that it is normal to feel the way he does and all right to talk about anything he wants to (60:72, 229); he sometimes gives information and advice if he thinks it will be helpful to the interviewee. He recognizes the interviewee's need for re-education and applies psychological principles of learning. He may suggest that the person being counseled carry on, between interviews, further analysis of some aspect of his problem. Most of these technics are used to some extent by psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers, and to a greater extent by school counselors, physicians, nurses, and ministers.

In nondirective interviewing, the student assumes responsibility for using the interview time in the way that seems most helpful to him. The counselor follows the student's leads, reflects and helps to clarify his feelings. He does not inject his own ideas into the conversation by questions or suggestions, or by giving information or advice. In a critique of the nondirective method Rogers (116) described these main features which, he said, distinguish it from other approaches: (1) the predictability of the process, (2) the discovery of "constructive forces within the client," and (3) "the client-centered nature of the therapeutic relationship." Rogers and Wallen (119) classified as counselor centered (1) questions that probe into the extent and causes of a client's problem, (2) reassurance or praise, (3) criticism or negative evaluation, (4) any attempt to interpret his behavior or to show relationships of which he himself has not yet become aware, (5) advice and suggestions, (6) persuasion, and (7) description of similar experiences the counselor has had.

Both schools aim to create an atmosphere of acceptance and understanding, and avoid passing moral judgments. We should recognize at this point that much of the criticism of both types of interviewing arises from inexpert application of the principles underlying either school.

Third, we should recognize the dissatisfaction with traditional meth-

ods that gave rise to the nondirective emphasis. Curran explained the gradual movement toward client-centered counseling, beginning with Rank's early recognition that the client's acceptance is of greater importance than the counselor's interpretation:

As a result of this Rank, Taft, Allen, Rogers, and others began to develop a technique which would take away the client's resistance by reducing the counselor's directiveness and allowing the client more opportunity to take the responsibility on himself for solving his problems in his own way (43:19).

Taft and Allen, whose points of view have already been quoted, evolved the nondirective emphasis from their clinical experience. Similarly, Roethlisberger and Dickson (110), as a result of their experience in industry, moved in the same direction. Psychologists especially expressed dissatisfaction with the tendency of psychoanalysts to interpret individuals' behavior according to "preconceived theories of personality structure." In fact, workers in every field, confronted with the ineffectiveness of much of their counseling, were ready to accept any promising "new" procedure.

Certainly the nondirective attitude of mind would be an extremely valuable addition to the equipment of teacher-counselors and traditional counselors. It is an antidote to the urge to dominate, to teach, to preach, to give advice, which sways so many human beings in our culture. Hahn and Kendall (59) have well crystallized the defense of the nondirective method. Using a single case as a springboard, Sargent (121) tried to show how the nondirective technic is in harmony with other schools of psychology.

Fourth, we should likewise recognize the criticisms of the nondirective method. In his critique, Thorne (148) included these major inadequacies, which may be briefly stated as follows:

1. Case-history data are neglected; this makes adequate diagnosis impossible.
2. The client's evaluation of himself is accepted at face value without reference to the objective facts in the case.
3. The nondirective method is used too exclusively when other methods would be more effective.
4. The client may only scratch the surface of his problem and, undirected, never get to the underlying motives and roots of the difficulty.
5. In his efforts to remain neutral, the inexperienced nondirective counselor often fails to meet the client's expectation of what counseling should be; the result is a "sense of wonderment and dissatisfaction."

6. The nondirective counselor often fails to follow up significant leads that the client gives him.
7. The nondirective counselor may refrain from giving information and advice when it might help the client to move forward to a better adjustment.

Each of these criticisms raises a controversial issue which will be discussed later in this chapter.

FEW WOULD DISAGREE . . .

The agreements among counselors, clinical psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, and psychoanalysts are more fundamental and numerous than their disagreements. Few, if any, interviewers would disagree with the following concepts which are found in the writings in all these fields:

1. A deep-seated respect and warmth of feeling for human beings is a basic attitude of the successful interviewer.
2. The individual seeks self-realization, self-actualization, self-consistency (73); he wants to make himself and his environment as "good" and complete as possible.
3. The individual has growth resources within himself to help himself, to solve his own problems, to make his own decisions.
4. His co-operation and participation in the interviewing process are essential.
5. The attitude or "mental set" which the interviewer and the interviewee bring to the interview, or which they acquire at its beginning, have much to do with the relationship established (158). The reputation of the interviewer, the institutional setting, the student's idea of his own role and of the counselor's role, all enter into the relationship.
6. The individual is a member of groups—family, school, community, nation, and world. When an individual has learned to understand and accept himself, he is able to see other people in a different light and has less need to dominate them.
7. The interviewer's role is to listen, learn, and try to understand; to be continuously sensitive to what the interviewee is thinking and feeling, thus keeping the path of communication open between them; to take his clues from what the interviewee says or implies by his expressive movements, as well as by what he says or fails to say.

The counselor who exemplifies these basic concepts will create in the interview a psychological environment in which the person can think things through and in which he feels free to grow emotionally more mature.

WHERE EXPERTS DIFFER

The controversial issues in interviewing seem to center upon the following questions:

1. Are there individual differences that influence the effectiveness of certain interviewing technics? For what percentage of cases is the nondirective approach suitable (57)?
2. What does the interviewer do to facilitate the process of self-analysis and self-understanding? What is the relative responsibility of interviewer and interviewee?
3. What is the role of diagnostic information in interviewing? Are cumulative records and case-study data necessary? Should the counselor make a diagnosis before beginning treatment?
4. Are past events or the immediate present the more important?

A repertory of approaches vs. the exclusive use of one method. The exclusive use of one method for all cases is contrary to a fundamental principle of clinical psychology, namely, that the approach should be adapted to the individual, his needs, and the situation. There is no one method of interviewing that is appropriate to every case. Ackerman (3) believes that the treatment of any individual must be determined by a clear understanding of the cause of his difficulty rather than by the counselor's orientation. To be sure, one counselor cannot be skilled in all methods of counseling and psychotherapy; he is limited by his own personality, his training, and the setting in which he works. However, if he cannot give the client the kind of treatment indicated, he should refer him to another worker who can. He should not persistently use his preferred method of counseling when it is not appropriate. To do so is to sacrifice the client on the altar of devotion to a technic. If a certain method is used with rigid persistence in the face of the interviewee's dissatisfaction, it may arouse defensiveness and "may cause as much resistance as the ineffective use of any other technique" (109:371).

There is a difference of opinion as to what kind of counseling is needed in colleges. McKinney estimated that "around 75 per cent of college students have problems of a psychological nature that vary in seriousness" (79:210). A dean of students (70), on the other hand, expressed the opinion that about 95 per cent of the conferences in college personnel work are directive and informational. While admitting that "most of us have talked too much in counseling young people," that much of the advice given is not followed, and that education as a whole has been overdirective, he believes that it would be folly to try to handle an essentially directive type of conference in a nondirective manner. This ap-

proach would be time consuming and artificial. The nondirective approach is also ineffective in cases in which the counselee is likely to quit because the process seems so futile and exasperating to him. If specific information, a clue, or an illustration would be helpful to the student, why should the counselor not co-operate?

Thorne, a clinical psychologist, believes that nondirective technics are more effective with "essentially normal people who have enough personality integration to resolve their own problems with a minimum of direction from the counselor" (143:469) than in the treatment of serious mental disorders. He objects to the inelasticity of the nondirective method and emphasizes the need for individualizing the clinical approach. He says that it is "undesirable to limit one's self to any one therapeutic technique rather than to utilize all available methods according to needs of each individual clinical situation" (143:465). This point of view is expressed still more emphatically by a psychiatrist:

[Nondirective therapy] is apparently to be applied to any type of case, without adequate diagnostic formulation. Every experienced therapist knows that this is impossible, since no single technique is applicable to all problems or all people. Further, technique must vary according to the trend of developments in the therapeutic situation (77:622).

Following are instances in which the nondirective technic does not seem to work:

1. When the counselee becomes more and more confused, more and more impatient with the nondirective approach. This resistance was recognized by one counselor in the comment: "When I wait for you to begin the conversation, you sort of feel that I'm putting pressure on you."

Student: That's right.

Certainly the counselee's desire for a not too "dusty answer" to his questions is a feeling that the counselor should take into account. Recognizing this difficulty, Rogers advises the counselor not to make an issue of being nondirective, but to give highly general advice if the client insists.

2. When the counselee says, "I see what I ought to do but I just don't do it."
3. When he is under great stress and needs reassurance, suggestions, and other "palliative technics" to get past the crisis.
4. When the counselee is a compulsive neurotic whose thoughts go round and round in a closed circle.
5. When the counselee is depressed and cannot get out of this state by himself.

6. When the counselee is a person with a very low IQ who lacks ability to make a self-analysis.
7. Whenever the interview reaches a point at which the resources of the counselee are obviously inadequate—when he lacks information or the power of analysis. To facilitate progress in such cases, especially in the short contact, the counselor provides help over and above the client's own resources.
8. When there is "extreme disparity between [the client's] present aspiration and probable future achievement." Under this condition "the therapist can hardly avoid the responsibility of attempting to modify his client's projected goals" (57:225).
9. When verbal communication is very difficult for the counselee. If the counselor persists in expecting this kind of counselee to talk freely, he loses rapport, or even creates an argumentative atmosphere or a clash of wills, as in the following instance:

Student: What do you want me to do now?

Counselor: I'm not particular; anything you want to tell me.

Student: I'd rather answer questions. I can answer questions better than I can start a conversation.

In this case the counselor finally suggested that the interview be used to develop the counselee's conversational ability. The counselee then began to talk about current events, books he had read, and other intellectual topics out of line with the direct purpose of the counseling. For this student, who needed social experience, such a use of the interview time may have been a sound investment when the more vital nondirective method failed.

Rogers recognized that methods other than nondirective counseling are necessary in dealing with a small number of psychotics, mental defectives, and others "who have not the capacity to solve their own difficulties, even with help," and also with persons "who are faced with impossible demands from their environments" (112:128).

The role of the interviewer. Perhaps the greatest difference among interviewers is in their concept of their role—just what they do to facilitate the growth process during the interview. All would agree that the interviewer shows by his tone of voice, bodily posture, and facial expression his deep respect for the person being interviewed. All would agree that something happens on a nonverbal level of communication through the impact of personality on personality. In these ways the interviewer helps to build the counselee's feeling that he is a worth-while human being, accepted for himself and not for what he has or can accomplish. Perhaps the feeling of warm acceptance is as relaxing and re-

juvenating to the spirit as the warmth of the sun is to the body; it helps the counselee to generate a more "healthy and confident attitude toward the present and the future." It is also clear that the interviewer shows his understanding not merely by listening passively or saying "uh-huh," or by repeating the counselee's own words and phrases, but by restating them so that the counselee is convinced that the interviewer has understood him and is stimulated to go further in his self-understanding.

The social worker tends to give more attention to the environment than does the nondirective counselor (103). He tries to "temper the wind to the shorn lamb"—to reduce the demands of the situation to such a degree that the individual can handle it. As the counselee becomes encouraged by success, he needs less help. Through handling the situation successfully, he gains self-confidence.

There is a difference of opinion as to the counselor's responsibility for giving information. The counselee may need evidence outside himself to carry forward his self-analysis. When the counselor has information which the counselee needs to move forward in his thinking, why should he withhold it? Knowing the client better than other persons know him and recognizing his readiness, the interviewer should offer the information at the psychological moment. It can be given in a neutral way—as a tool for the individual to use as he sees fit. By such assistance the interviewer may help the individual to make an adjustment at a higher level than would otherwise be possible, and to accomplish more in the limited counseling time available in schools and colleges. The amount of assistance the counselor gives varies with the counselee's ability to think things through for himself and with other factors in the total situation.

It is worth noting that some of the controversy under discussion arises from differences in the meanings attached to different words. For example, some persons who say the counselor should not give encouragement to the client are thinking of encouragement in "Pollyanna" terms: "Everything will be all right." This is not the same thing as encouraging the client to solve his own problems by using the resources within himself, or to reflect his positive feelings about himself and pointing out good qualities or favorable conditions that he has not recognized.

Although the counselor cannot be all things to all students, he may use a number of technics in various combinations: self-analysis; situation analysis; client-centered emphasis on the individual's initiative, responsibility, and capacity to solve his own problems. With some students he may play up the positive, humorous, and hopeful elements in the situation, using a light touch that does not discount the seriousness of life, but emphasizes good nature instead of bitterness. This is creative counseling.

How to Interview

Against this background of theory, controversial though it is, some safe and practical suggestions for interviewing may be made. By increasing the counselor's sensitivity to good features in interviewing, these suggestions will help to improve his interview procedures without making him technic conscious. The organization of this section will follow the steps in the interview process from preplanning to "post-mortem"—the counselor's evaluation of the interview in retrospect.

THE SETTING FOR THE INTERVIEW

The setting for the interview may convey a general impression of friendliness and informality, or of exactly the opposite (50). By rising to meet the student as an expected guest, the interviewer may give him the impression that he is welcome. By giving his full attention and avoiding a preoccupied manner, he gives the student the impression that the conference is the most important thing he could be doing at the time. The quality of the interviewer's voice and smile may make a favorable or an unfavorable first impression on the student. Friendliness and acceptance must be genuine to be effective; the student quickly detects a pose.

The larger framework of institutional policies and practices is more important than the merely physical setting. Even before the interview takes place, the student's attitude has been influenced by the personnel policies of the school or college (50). In every institution the students have some idea of the role the interviewer is expected to play. If he is viewed as a disciplinary officer, in the punitive sense, he will have difficulty in establishing a friendly relationship with students. They will be on their guard against saying anything that will incriminate them. If the interviewer is judged to be more concerned with maintaining school or college standards than with furthering the welfare of individual students, he will not be able to create an accepting, permissive atmosphere.

The interviewer's reputation is perhaps the most important single factor in the success of an interview. Many of the problems of the interview are already solved if the interviewer has a reputation for giving "a square deal," for recognizing the student's point of view, and for giving constructive help in the joint solution of a problem. Such a reputation depends in turn upon the interviewer's physical condition, eyesight, hearing, freedom from strain, mental alertness, emotional adjustment, and other personality factors, as well as on his training. The interviewer who sends students away with no new perspective or orientation, no purpose or plan, gives them a weary feeling of futility

and thereby builds up a most unfortunate reputation. It is impossible to create the ideal atmosphere for an interview when the counselor has acquired the reputation of disclosing confidences, of duplicity in dealing with individuals, of doing most of the talking, of not seeing the student's point of view, of wasting the student's time.

If possible, time should be scheduled between interviews in order to allow the interviewer to make any necessary notations or follow-up contacts from the previous interview, and to look over the next student's cumulative record. From the standpoint of the interviewer himself, this breathing spell reduces the fatigue arising from the intense concentration necessary in every interview.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

A knowledge of the student—his physical condition, his medical history, his family background, his scholastic record, and his scores on standardized tests—should help the interviewer interpret the student's remarks more accurately and realistically (see pages 25–29). For this reason, the counselor does well to make use of such sources of information as cumulative records and case studies before the interview. The chances are that a more helpful understanding of the individual will grow out of knowledge of his previous development and present environment than out of ignorance of these factors. Unconscious bias is more likely to arise from the interviewer's personal prejudices than from a wealth of information about the student, from an initial first impression than from a study of information from various sources.

A knowledge of student problems is also important. For want of facts, many school and college interviews are futile; neither student nor counselor has the facts needed to solve the particular problem. For example, a high school girl wanted to drop algebra. She discussed the matter with her adviser, but gained no help on the problem because the adviser did not have the facts about the educational value of algebra, the higher institutions and vocations that require a basic knowledge of it, the mental ability necessary for success in it, the best methods of studying it, and other relevant information. Many vocational guidance interviews leave the student "up in the air" because the counselor does not have specific up-to-date facts regarding the qualifications needed for different occupations, the openings in the field, and the places where preparation may be obtained. Counselors need facts about the contribution each subject makes to vocations and avocations, the range of intelligence required for success in a given course or vocation, and the most effective methods of reading in each subject. These are practical questions that constantly recur in school and college interviews. Not

without good reason have Bingham and Moore (21) emphasized the importance of the counselor's having superior technical knowledge of each of these problems.

Young people today, however, need more than information; they need security, perspective, and faith in the future. These are best acquired through personal relationships. Understanding of the nature of adjustment is equally important. The counselor is "often baffled and defeated by the complicated structure of his patients' lives and by the relative meagerness of current scientific knowledge concerning human reactions" (100:108). He does not know the answers.

THE STUDENT COMES TO THE INTERVIEWER

A favorable referral helps the interview to get off to a good start. If the student comes of his own volition, he indicates to the counselor that he is ready to accept responsibility for working out his own problem. This is an essential condition for successful interviewing.

If, however, the student comes not because he wants to, but because his mother, or a teacher, or some other person has referred him, he is resistant instead of receptive to growth through the interview process. In his mind the interviewer figures as a coconspirator against him. This puts the interviewer in an awkward position. The interviewee feels no need to express his thoughts and feelings. In fact, he feels that if he does talk, he will get himself into trouble. Under these conditions, therapy cannot be effective. The soundest procedure is to recognize the interviewee's feeling, explain the nature of the counseling process, and try to build what is commonly called *rapprochement*.

Sometimes the student comes willingly enough but is too well satisfied with his present status to take responsibility for a new reorientation. He is ready to talk, but only on a superficial level. The interview is merely a pleasant experience that provides an escape from the task of getting to work on a real reorientation. One worker, through listening to the casual conversation of a sixteen-year-old boy, gained an understanding of him: He was a person with no positive relations with people; he had feelings of resentment against his family, a compulsive need for success, a dislike of menial work, a strong feeling of not measuring up to his level of aspiration. He rebelled against his old self, wanted to become a new person, but could not realize his good intentions. This first interview provided some relief of tension and clarified the nature of his conflicts for both the interviewer and himself. From then on, the interviewer's picture of the boy changed constantly as he worked with him. As the boy's attitude changed from one of distrust to acceptance, he began to try out and work out technics of living that enabled him to

handle life situations despite his feelings of fear and insecurity. This interviewer was genuinely accepting, not merely acquiescent. There is a difference: an interviewer can be verbally acquiescent but not really accept the person.

In some cases one finds a reluctance to talk that may arise either from a general unresponsiveness or from real difficulty in verbalizing. The counselor accepts either limitation and makes the counsellee feel at ease and free to talk or be silent. Sometimes a game, several of the *Thematic Apperception Test* pictures, or other tests serve as a springboard to conversation.

The first interview is a guide to treatment (86, 108), a means of establishing an atmosphere of friendliness and competence, an opportunity to develop insight (154), a step toward mutual understanding. The interview may also be viewed as a learning situation, subject to the psychological laws of learning. Learning is most effective when emotional blocks are removed, when familiar words and ideas are used, when one idea at a time is introduced, when the person participates in the learning experience, and when the counselor takes an attitude of positive expectancy toward the person (151).

STRUCTURING THE INTERVIEW

The client's co-operation, in any kind of interview, depends on his having some idea of the counseling process and his role in it—what is expected of him, the kind of experiences that will be offered, the purpose of the procedures employed, and his responsibility for using the resources available.

The approach will, of course, be varied with each individual, but the interviewer usually tries to sense what the student expects of the interviewer and why he has come. He may begin by remarking: "I really know very little about why you came in. Would you like to tell me something about it?" (129a: 129). Or he may merely make a simple statement of the nature of the counseling relationship. Another counselor may say directly, "We want to help you understand yourself and your relations with other persons." Another sometimes begins by saying: "If you come in and talk about these things, there's a chance you may be able to think them through. It has helped other people." Another approach is this: "I may be able to help you go about working on your problem." These are general statements or questions that open the conversation but do not direct it.

Sometimes the counselor tries to interpret his role and explain the nature of the testing and other services offered. Toward the end of his

first interview with an emotionally disturbed twenty-year-old woman, Rogers said:

"Well, I might say just a word about the kind of thing that we do here, and the kind of thing that you are starting to try, I suppose, today, and that is if you come in to try to talk through these things that do bother you and concern you—there's a chance at least that you may be able to discover for yourself some of the things that you can do about the situation, and I think it's up to you whether or not you think it's worth trying—and all I can say is that a number of people have tried that sort of thing and have found that it helped, but you can't be guaranteed anything. It might help or it might not. I think you're wondering whether anything might help" (129a:138). (Reprinted from *Case Book of Non-Directive Counseling*, edited by William U. Snyder, by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company. Copyright 1947, by Houghton Mifflin Company.)

Instead of structuring the interview at the beginning, i.e., setting limits and acquainting the counselee with the service available, some counselors believe it better to let the counselee discover the nature of the contact as he proceeds. However, if the counselor waits too long to structure the situation, the counselee may get a confused idea of his relationship with the counselor and of his responsibility in the process.

GAINING RAPPORT

The word *rapport* has been used glibly without enough understanding of the conditions under which a relationship of mutual trust and respect is nurtured (143). We have already emphasized initial rapport in our discussion of interview technics. In the first few minutes, by his words, his manner, and his facial expression, the counselor says in effect: "This is the kind of person I am; this is the kind of experience an interview is."

It is obvious that the first principle in gaining rapport is to recognize the individual differences in the persons interviewed and to adapt one's approach accordingly.

Rapport is too often thought of as a "bag of tricks"—devices used at the beginning of an interview. If employed with sensitivity, devices such as the following do help the interviewer to create the desired psychological atmosphere: giving the student a comfortable chair beside him in informal and pleasant surroundings; taking care not to display a cluttered desk or anything else that gives the impression that he is pressed for time; being punctual; avoiding interruptions and distractions; mentioning something the student has done well, or a person or place with which he has pleasant associations. An interesting object or picture in the counselor's office (97) may become "a part of the dynamic interview process." Devices such as these help to make the student feel more relaxed and receptive.

It is obvious that devices of this kind must not be used with self-

consciousness or in a stereotyped, mechanical manner. Such an approach is quickly detected by the student—and resented. Word goes abroad that Mr. So and So always begins an interview with “What can I do to help you?” or that Mrs. O—— is likely to say, “Won’t you let me be a mother to you”—to which one pert youngster replied, “You’ll have to ask my daddy about that.” Although the principle of beginning an interview with a positive approach is sound, it must be applied with infinite variety and deep sensitivity to the persons being interviewed.

Far more important in the long run than these initial devices are the counselor’s personality and reputation, and the role that the student expects him to assume (20). The last two of these factors have already been mentioned. The personal qualities of an ideal interviewer have been the occasion of much speculation but of little or no research (78). Three qualities seem to be of special importance: (1) a constructive attitude toward people; (2) an understanding of their motives, of the world as they variously perceive it, of actual environmental influences, and of common patterns and sequences of behavior; and (3) a sensitivity to the individual with whom he is talking, an alertness to indications of mood and attitude, and an ability to adapt himself to the other person’s changes in feeling as any clever conversationalist does. It is only through thinking and feeling with the other person—empathy and sympathy—that the interviewer knows when to be silent, when to reflect his feeling, when to interpret.

While these specific qualities are most desirable, the counselor must at all times be himself. He cannot assume certain characteristics superficially and “get away with it.” According to some authorities, a counselor should never show that he is shocked by anything a student says or does. However, if a counselor is genuinely shocked or indignant, a natural response would seem to be better than an easily recognized artificial repression of his real feelings. But if a counselor is emotionally mature and genuinely concerned with trying to understand the student, he will not feel shocked or angry; he will be so absorbed in finding some positive element on which the student can restructure his self-concept that he will have no room for other feelings.

Second only in importance to the counselor’s personality are the words he uses. Sometimes they do not mean the same thing to him as to the interviewee. If he speaks the student’s language, he has entry to his thoughts (93). Vocabulary is a factor in gaining rapport that has not received the attention it deserves. The counselor should adjust his manner and speech to the client. He should not talk over his head; neither should he be so colloquial or slangy as to lose the respect of the student. Schwesinger (122) and Bender (18) showed that placing em-

phasis on different words can produce variations in the results in an interview.

ESTABLISHING A COUNSELING RELATIONSHIP

Initial rapport is merged into a sustained counseling relationship. At the risk of being repetitious, we would like to emphasize that a beneficial relationship grows out of the counselor's feeling about people—a respect for human beings, an acceptance of them as they are and as they can become, faith in their ability to work out their own salvation. This attitude toward persons is basic. It results in a warm, accepting, understanding relationship, which, however, is not “personal” in the sense that the interviewer becomes personally involved with the client or his problem. The relationship must be objective, but still not cold, impersonal, or disinterested. The interviewer's own personal and professional security also affects the relationship. He should feel as much confidence in his ability to facilitate the growth process during the interview as the interviewee should feel in the resources for growth within himself. If the interviewer feels insecure, he may transfer some of his hesitancy and doubt to the interviewee.

Lewis reported a number of client-centered interviews in which interviewer and interviewee worked co-operatively and assumed appropriate responsibility for its progress. This view of the joint responsibility of interviewer and interviewee is concretely described in the following quotation:

. . . The girl feels that here is someone who can understand her point of view, whom she can count on to be frank and honest but not moralistic or critical, who will not be offended or shocked, who will laugh with her when things are funny, who is really interested and willing to listen to ideas which the girl describes as “cockeyed” . . .

She is accepted as . . . a person of importance for herself, one who, like the psychologist, has problems on which at times she needs objective help. It is recognized that the psychologist has some skills and knowledge which the girl does not have, but also that the girl has knowledge and skills which the psychologist lacks. It is also accepted that at the outset the psychologist does not know the solution to the problem and cannot find it without the help of the girl, that it is a cooperative process.

A division of responsibility must be accepted by the psychologist and the girl. The psychologist assumes the responsibility for developing and maintaining an emotional relationship which will be satisfying and helpful to the girl. She puts at the girl's service what knowledge and skills she has . . . [but] never assumes the responsibility of solving the problem for the girl. Instead, she has the more difficult task of keeping that responsibility with the girl, waiting and working until the girl achieves sufficient understanding to find the solution. With the psychologist also lies the responsibility for seeing that plans made by the girl

are realistic with reference to the girl's abilities and to the social and economic world of which she is a part. On her part the girl contributes a wish to help herself, an effort to produce material, a willingness to search for the affective meaning which events, behavior, feelings, and people have for her.

... some improvement in the immediate situation may be achieved without understanding on the part of the girl, but since no person or situation remains the same, at least partial understanding on the part of the girl is necessary for future equilibrium. The achievement of understanding must be attained by the girl, it cannot be given to her. If she is to be free to find understanding, it is necessary that the emotional atmosphere of the clinical situation be such as to give her a feeling of ease and security, that she is accepted as a person of importance in herself, that she will not be told what to do, that it is pleasant and worth while to come (75:13-15).

The following passage shows how an eleventh-grade girl, fifteen years eleven months old, IQ 135, described her relationship with a psychological counselor at the close of a series of interviews extending over eighteen months:

E came in without an appointment, stating she wished to talk to psychologist about her plans. She talked for a while about her plans for going to college and her feeling that it could be accomplished. Psychologist then told her that psychologist was leaving the city.

E became very much upset, saying: "I don't know what I'll do. Although I haven't come so often lately, I've been so busy, I've always felt I could come in to see you whenever I needed it. I was thinking the other night about what you'd done for me. The way I feel about it is you kind of opened up everything. I was in a black hole. I was so depressed. You pulled me out. You never told me what to do, but while I talked to you things seemed to suggest themselves and they worked out. You didn't show me, yet you were the person who started it. I felt I could say more to you than to anyone else. You know how to take it more than anyone else. You never get mad and don't misunderstand. I used to save things to tell you. I've been saving things to tell you. It was as though you belonged to me. . . . You certainly made me more understanding of what the past meant and how to handle it. It still comes up but I know better what to do about it. You were something, not exactly a person, you were a whole place. It was as though I belonged. A place where I could think and yet I belonged there. I don't know how to say it. Now that I think of it you didn't give me the answers. You started me out, and then when I'd come here it was all me. You knew me awfully well. I talked to myself. I don't think you are the same to other people. I don't know what you are to other people. Now I think you're not the same to me as you were when I was first coming. I can't quite exactly explain the difference. When I first came it was all me. Then I got to thinking about how I affected other people and what I had to do with other people, but you were a part of it all. I think now I come to you for advice. There's a difference in the feeling. I can't quite explain it."

Psychologist's next appointment came. Psychologist promised that E might come the next day to talk over her plans for college (75:27).

RECOGNIZING, ACCEPTING, REFLECTING, AND CLARIFYING THE COUNSELEE'S FEELINGS

It is natural for the counselee to express his negative feelings in the first part of the interview or series of interviews. The interviewer's role is to listen, to accept and reflect these feelings, and to help the person clarify his views and perhaps perceive the situation in a new light.

Listening has long been considered a case-work art (47). Listening can be dynamic; it is an essential part of the communication process; if the relationship between the two persons is right, listening becomes a stimulus to communication.

Something happens even in silences. In the interviews analyzed by Tindall and Robinson (150), resistance to silences was very rare. The interviewees paused to reflect on the topic under discussion, or to marshal new material. Interviewers paused to organize and formulate their responses.

Acceptance and reflection of the interviewee's feeling are closely associated. Acceptance may be indicated by the interviewer's bodily posture, facial expression, or gestures; by a noncommittal "uh-huh," "I see," or "yes." But the interviewee is more certain that his real feelings are accepted if the interviewer rephrases them accurately. It is sometimes difficult, especially in the first interview, to convey the idea that acceptance does not mean agreement or approval. This distinction becomes clear as the purpose and nature of the interview are understood by the counselee. There is, however, real danger in seeming to reinforce the counselee's erroneous ideas and negative views. For example, at the end of a series of interviews, the client, who had repeatedly expressed her antagonism toward her husband, felt that the counselor had given his support to her negative feelings. She virtually said, "I'm glad you agreed with what I've said about my husband." She had not gained a modified perception that might have improved their relationship, and thus have been beneficial to their child.

The skillful counselor does not merely repeat words. He does not usually reflect the intellectual content of what the counselee has said. If he can sense how the counselee is feeling, he expresses that feeling in words.

The counselor does not merely reflect the last thing the counselee has said, but keeps in mind what he has said previously and tries to see relationships. One counselor reflected a student's feeling expressed throughout the interview in the brief statement: "That sums up a lot of what you've been saying—life seems to be passing you by."

By reflecting the counselee's feeling, the counselor often helps to

clarify it. By holding it up before the counselee, the interviewer gives him a chance to look at it again, this time a little more objectively. By repeating it in slightly different words, the interviewer enables him to get a somewhat different slant on it. The following are a few samples of this kind of reflection of feeling:

"You feel things are all going wrong."

"You feel that the trouble began a long way back, but it's been getting worse."

"You feel that studying was a way of avoiding social events."

The counselor may go further and encourage the counselee to "tell more." He may make such remarks as:

"Yes, and then?"

"What did the relation mean to you then?"

"How did you feel about that?"

"Just what has he done?"

"Why did you say, 'used to'?"

"Is there anything that Dick especially likes?"

The counselor may go still further and encourage the counselee to think more deeply about why he feels and behaves as he does or to analyze something he has said, as in the following instances:

"When your mother did that, how did you feel?"

"Perhaps there is more to it than that."

"I think you can understand the situation still more fully."

"Why does remembering this experience bother you?"

"That isn't all, is it?"

"There's something you don't want to say, isn't there?"

"And you don't think he's right?"

Reflection of feeling has perhaps been overemphasized as a technic. If the counselor is too intent and anxious about recognizing and reflecting the person's feeling, he may block the free communication, which is the most essential part of the process. The counselee may get the impression of a person prying into his private world.

INTERPRETATION

There is no sharp dividing line between reflection of feeling and interpretation. If reflection of feeling is more than a mere repetition of the counselee's words, some interpretation is involved.

Examples of interpretation.—The following are instances in which the interviewer did more than repeat the counselee's words or reflect his feelings. If space were available to record the entire interview, the reader would clearly see that the interviewer went beyond what the individual actually said or explicitly implied:

"So instead of getting better, things have been getting worse."

"You feel you've lost before you begin."

"You feel that you can't act natural in social situations and that people notice it."

"You can tell yourself what you ought to do, but, when opportunity offers, you can't do it."

"You feel that people try to reassure you, but it doesn't make you any more self-confident."

"You feel you're playing two different roles."

In these instances the counselor tried to increase the counselee's understanding of himself by pointing out relationships and feelings he had not fully recognized. If the counselor's interpretation is accurate and well timed, the counselee is likely to say, "That's right," or otherwise indicate his agreement with the counselor.

Interpretation is not easy. What the counselee says is often a mixture of facts, his true view of the situation as he sees it, and his feelings about it. But sometimes he makes statements which he thinks will make a good impression on the interviewer, or even spins a yarn for his own enjoyment. Unless the interviewer has information from other sources, he is sometimes unable to distinguish between fact and fiction. Having noted this discrepancy, the counselor is most concerned with knowing why the person had a need to distort facts—why did he need to resort to lies and why did he misrepresent the situation in that particular way?

Another difficulty, as Young (161:264, 267, 275) pointed out, arises in the interviewer himself—his tendency to project his own ideas and attitudes upon the interviewee, his unawareness of his own biases, and his tendency to oversimplify.

Even experienced counselors are not unanimous in interpreting the feelings expressed in interviews. This difficulty was illustrated in an experiment by Reid and Snyder (104) in which fifteen counselors with varying amounts of training in nondirective counseling attempted to classify the feelings expressed in a set of client responses, which were presented phonographically and in printed booklets. Each response was placed, on the average, in five different categories. Even the three most experienced counselors placed the same client responses in quite different categories of feeling. Such marked disagreement among experienced counselors emphasizes the need for caution in making interpretations.

Yet there is frequently a need for interpretation. Its purpose is to stimulate the interviewee to explore further. Skillful interpretation makes for movement in the interview. Without interpretation, the counselee may remain on a superficial level of self-understanding, and consequently not make much progress. Even premature interpretation

may not be so serious as some counselors believe, because the individual tends to ignore any interpretation for which he is not ready. To interpret to students the varied aspects of their emotional life, however, requires great skill and understanding.

Interpreting test results. If tests are used, they should be woven into the interview pattern. This may be done by means of the following steps:

1. Wait for the counselee to recognize the need for the kind of objective evidence that tests can give.
2. Explain the nature of the most relevant tests—tests that show what he does best, what he likes to do, what he could do if he wanted to. To avoid a feeling of failure, explain that the tests contain some very easy questions and also some that he would not be expected to know.
3. Administer the tests in a precise but unhurried way, showing a friendly interest in his performance.
4. Interpret the results in such a way as to answer the individual's questions, and with consideration for his need for this information and ability to accept it. The counselor, however, should not distort the test results in order to encourage the student temporarily. Intelligence test scores or IQ's should be interpreted with special care because misconceptions of the nature of intelligence are prevalent. The *Differential Aptitude Test* by Bennett, Seashore, and Wesman, published by the Psychological Corporation, New York City, is an integrated battery of tests valuable in calling attention to various manifestations of mental and clerical abilities. It prevents an individual from feeling discouraged over a single low score; in his profile based on this battery, he is usually above average in some respect. The battery, too, being diagnostic, is of more value than any single score or IQ. However, from the standardized general intelligence tests considerable diagnostic information can be obtained from the sub-scores, the analyses of responses, and the reports of observations made during the testing.

DEVELOPING INSIGHT

Insight that leads to desirable changes in behavior is the major goal of interviewing. *Insight* has several different meanings:

1. Intellectual insight: "the perception of new relationships to one's self, and the fresh understanding of reality" (132).
2. Intellectual insight plus emotional reinforcement.
3. Emotionalized insight that leads to changes in behavior.

Shaw (123) attempted to explain insight as the ability to verbalize ideas that have previously been repressed because of anxiety. Any technic that gives the counselee a chance to become aware of suppressed

impulses without disapproval should help him in dealing with them in life situations (113). Any technic that helps him to clarify and understand his feelings and conflicts should lead to insight. Any technic that encourages the counselee to plan ways of using his insights in real life situations will help to make his insights functional. However, mere acceptance of the counselee's feeling is not enough to achieve this end. In fact, there is danger of encouraging the counselee, by uncritical acceptance of his point of view and unskillful reflection and interpretation of his statements, to build up a picture of himself that is out of line with reality. If this is done, he may be very happy in the interview situation and seem to have achieved a fine adjustment, only to go completely to pieces later on when he finds that he cannot realize in daily life the self he had envisioned. Nor can an interview be judged successful if the counselee's new orientation is out of line with criteria of social acceptability.

Progress, or movement toward self-understanding, should be evident during the interview or interview series. It is often lacking in the interviews of inexperienced counselors; neither the counselor nor the counselee seems to have any clear idea of where to begin, how to proceed, or where to go.

PUTTING INSIGHTS TO WORK

The process of clarifying feelings and gaining insight naturally leads to the making of decisions and the planning of courses of action. The student often needs help in translating his insights into real life experience. He may be helped by observing other persons who get along well with people, by studying the psychology of "how to make friends and influence people," by using role playing or sociodrama as an aid to working out his personal relations. The successful interviewer is resourceful; he finds suitable educational opportunities, locates suitable jobs, thinks of ingenious ways out of difficult situations, introduces the student to suitable recreational groups.

He is most happy, however, if the student can do these things for himself. Then the counselor need only reinforce by a word of approval a plan the counselee has thought out. For example, the counselor made the following comments at different points in an interview with a parent who was doing a good job of analyzing the situation himself:

"That's a fine idea."

"You're right about that, Mr. H——."

"You've helped me to understand the situation better."

"You've helped by bringing him [the child] here."

Reassurance is more directive. According to Andrews, reassurance is

"particularly indicated with mental defectives, young children, and other immature personalities in combating feelings of inferiority and anxiety" (8:66).

More effective than either verbal approval or reassurance is the counselor's capacity to build the individual's faith in himself. This is accomplished in many subtle ways and seems to be the basic element in successful counseling. Self-confidence is sustained by success in real life situations. It is frequently necessary to reduce environmental pressures to such a degree that the student, with his new orientation, can handle them. For example, when a student is unsociable, unable to relate himself to other persons, it is common practice to suggest that he join a club or participate in social events. But, unless he has been helped to acquire the attitudes and social skills necessary for acceptance in these groups, he may come out of the experience with an even deeper sense of social failure. If possible, the social demands of his present environment should be decreased to the point at which he is able to handle them successfully. Nor is it helpful to tell him that he should not try so hard to be sociable; that he should be more relaxed, less tense.

Perhaps the counselor can accomplish most in cases like this by reflecting in a psychotherapeutic counseling relationship any positive insights the person expresses: "You feel that you can be sociable, but not often enough." The interview hour itself should be an experience in which he can talk freely to the counselor and feel relaxed and at ease. As his relationship with the counselor develops, he is learning to relate himself to other persons. A present difficulty in communicating with the counselor or with other people is only a symptom of complex conditions under which the person never learned to relate himself to others during preschool years, never grew out of his normal early egocentricity, never experienced genuine love and affection. The basic causes of the difficulty lie deep in these conditions.

ENCOURAGING CONTINUATION OF THERAPY BETWEEN INTERVIEWS

The growth process is not confined to the time spent in the interview. In fact, most of the growth takes place between interviews. It is then that the thinking begun in the interview is continued, and the insights gained in the interview are put to work in daily living. Accordingly, some counselors encourage the counselee to think about his problems and to carry out his plans between interviews. There are a number of ways of doing this:

To give a definite assignment—questions to think or write about during the interval. Lewis (75) mentioned the following "homework," which she gave to some of her adolescent clients:

"Will you try to remember all the times in your life when you were happy—make a list of them so that you can talk about it."

"Think of all the times you didn't understand your mother and she didn't understand you. Next time you can tell me about those."

To make a point of asking, at each session, about the success of plans formulated in the previous meeting:

"Well, how did things go?"

"Did you have a good time at the party?"

TERMINATING THE CONTACT

Counseling should end with a mutual recognition that independence is another healthy step toward growth. Instead of being an abrupt break, the termination of the contact should be a natural stage in the process. The counselee's decrease in interest is one indication that he is ready to end the treatment. Kemble (71) believes that the ending should be planned, not sudden; clear cut, not indefinite. The way should be left open for the counselee's return if he feels the need for further help. If possible, the case should be followed up after a sufficient lapse of time to determine whether the client has made adjustment in life situations.

KEEPING RECORDS OF INTERVIEWS

Records of interviews are needed for service purposes as well as for research. (For research aspects see pages 145-148.) But how is the interviewer to take notes, so that he will have continuity from one interview to the next, without destroying the personal relationship? As a matter of fact, taking notes is one way in which the interviewer can show that he is paying close attention and is trying very hard to understand the person being interviewed. If the purpose of the notes is made clear to the interviewee, then note taking will be something in which he is participating, not something that is being done to him.

Although much detail is lost if the interview is not recorded at once, Symonds and Dietrich (144) found that the most significant ideas are not likely to be forgotten quickly. In fact, they suggest that there may even be some gain in integration and in perception of the relationship of significant ideas if the interview is recorded after a not-too-long time interval.

By making possible a minute analysis and discussion of the interviewing process (117), verbatim reports are useful in the training of interviewers. One of the most difficult problems in recording is that of distinguishing between relevant and irrelevant facts and between facts and the inferences drawn from them. Finally, a sagacious synthesis of

significant independent items is necessary to show movement in the case and to suggest further treatment.

Sound recording is obviously superior to note taking in that it makes possible a verbatim record, preserves the tone of voice, inflections, and pauses, and leaves the interviewer free to concentrate on the listening process (see page 129). Talking to a microphone, however, is not the same thing as talking confidentially to a counselor. It may have different effects: it may stimulate the counselee to make a more accurate self-analysis, or increase his natural tendency to make a good impression. One should always obtain his consent to have the interview recorded.

Sound recording has made possible a detailed comparison of the counselor's procedure in successful and in unsuccessful cases. Snyder (130) found that the counselor in one "unsuccessful" case did more structuring of the situation, asked more direct questions, and more frequently restated the content of the client's remarks than did the counselor in four "successful" cases. The client in the "unsuccessful" interview more often asked for information, showed less insight, rejected the counselor's statements, discussed irrelevant material, wanted to terminate the contact, and insisted that the counselor give advice.

Hazards of Interviewing

The counselor should recognize several ways in which the interview may fail to accomplish its main purpose:

1. The counselor may fail to achieve a warmth of relationship—a "feeling with" the person both intellectually and emotionally. He may feel only sentimentality or pseudo-affection, or even make the contact an outlet for his own ego drives and desire to dominate.
2. The counselor may seize upon a solution and push its acceptance without giving the student a chance to explore the situation more thoroughly; this fault is often attributed to a feeling of pressure—"so much to do and so little time."
3. The counselor may persist in his preferred technic or theory when it is clearly inappropriate in a particular case.
4. The counselor may fail to follow up the clues and leads that the student gives, or neglect important aspects of the case such as a physical impairment or a personality trend, the significance of which he does not recognize.
5. The counselor may evoke confidences that he cannot handle, and that the student will later regret having brought to light. Or he may probe too deeply and too quickly. Prying into another person's private life by methods that do not seem legitimate to him, may have the effect of a boomerang in destroying the relationship that is

the *sine qua non* of success. An individual's reticence or resistance may indicate areas of conflict that should be noted, but not necessarily explored immediately. If the counselor oversteps the boundary line of reticence, he will put the student on his guard. And what doth it profit a counselor though he gain vital information if he thereby antagonize the individual he had hoped to help?

6. The interview may be problem centered or technic centered rather than centered in the person in the setting of his school, home, and community.

Values of Interviewing

Since the values of the interview have already been described, they need only be mentioned here by way of summary. In the interview

Tension may be reduced by the opportunity to "talk it out."

Negative feelings may be accepted and clarified.

Positive relationships may be recognized and reinforced. The interviewer acts as a "catalyst for the subject's thought processes."

Insights may be developed.

The counselee's independence in using the resources for growth within himself may be developed.

Plans for positive action may be initiated and followed through.

A satisfying human relationship and a profitable use of time may be experienced within the interview hour itself. "There is no substitute for the personal touch in the interview as a means for discovering motives and awakening new purposes. In the last analysis there are human situations which can be met only by a person whose spirit goes out in good will toward another" (140:553).

The interview has both diagnostic and therapeutic value. It is the most dynamic way of understanding the individual as a whole.

Brumbaugh (27) emphasized a concept of the interview which is frequently ignored, namely, its value to the personnel worker as well as to the student. So conceived, the situation becomes one in which two or more individuals meet for the purpose of benefiting mutually from one another's viewpoints. The interview thus becomes a dual learning experience for both counselor and student (9). Each interview is "an experiment in human relations" (50).

An adequate idea of the nature of the interview should also recognize its importance in the emotional adjustment and personality integration of all students (53). It should serve not only the problem cases, but also those who have potentialities for leadership and are likely to play a significant part in public service.

*Evidence of the Effectiveness of the
Interview*

How effective is an interview? Any interview should be evaluated with reference to the purpose for which it is used. As employed in counseling, interviewing is an unstandardized technic. Even the research interview is becoming more informal, more nondirective. Thus the problem of determining its reliability and validity is correspondingly complex.

RELIABILITY

The concepts of statistical reliability have limited application to the interview. Indeed, it would be more exact to speak of reliabilities rather than of reliability, for the dependability of the interview varies with the interviewee, the personality and skill of the interviewer, and the content of the interview (137). One kind of reliability is similar to the retest reliability obtained for standardized tests; it shows whether an interviewer would obtain the same facts if he repeated the interview with the same person. Another kind of reliability corresponds to the comparable form reliability of tests; it indicates whether two or more interviewers would obtain the same facts from the same person. In the employment interview, reliability is usually interpreted as consistency. It shows whether several interviewers agree in their estimate of the applicant's proficiency for a particular job.

Though few figures on the reliability of interview data have been reported, there are enough to show that definite, objective, factual information can be obtained accurately in the interview. Jenkins (69) tested the dependability of a series of nineteen questions about brands of goods by repeating the original interviews after forty-eight hours. On the average, 90 per cent of the persons interviewed named the same brand of goods in the second interview. The range for different items was from 85 to 97 per cent; the standard deviation was 2 per cent. King (72) also obtained rather high agreement (from 66 to 100 per cent) between the responses obtained by two interviewers visiting the same twenty-five families about two weeks apart.

The reliability is far lower for less definite and objective information. For the counseling and psychotherapeutic interview, the usual statistical concept of reliability is not appropriate. Since this sort of interview represents only one phase in a continuous process of adjustment, it could not be expected to yield the same information if it were repeated. Nor could the interviewee be expected to express the same ideas consistently with two interviewers; interviewers are individuals, too, and approach clients in somewhat different ways. Moreover, what the interviewee says

sometimes does not correspond to objective facts. He views his world differently from the way other persons view it. It is his view of himself and his relationships that the interviewer wants to obtain accurately, regardless of whether these views are realistic. Nor will his views be the same from day to day; they will not necessarily be consistent. For these reasons the common concept of reliability does not apply in the counseling interview as it does in the fact-finding research interview. The statistical unreliability of the interview under counseling conditions must therefore be recognized (137:499).

A number of factors present in the interviewee himself may cause this unreliability: self-concern or the desire to make a good impression, poor memory and judgment, lack of skill in analyzing a situation. Of these, Woodworth (158) considered self-concern the most likely to have the effect of coloring testimony. In the psychotherapeutic interview, however, self-concern can be used to motivate self-analysis; unless the client is concerned and willing to take responsibility, the interviewer cannot accomplish the main purpose of the psychotherapeutic interview.

Other factors such as the bias of the interviewer, his skill in observation, the purpose of the interview, the framework in which it takes place, the supplementary information available, the kind of questions asked, the relationship between the counselor and the student, affect the reliability and validity of the interview. The fact that different interviewers obtain widely divergent results with the same group of subjects or with two comparable groups is supported by Viteles (153), who pointed out that even experienced salesmanagers differed widely in their opinion of twenty-four applicants whom they interviewed. The employment interview, in its traditional form, has been found to be highly unreliable (160). Muscio's study (93) indicates that the form of question used in the interview influences both reliability and validity.

In a now classic experiment Rice (107) presented evidence to show that a bias in the mind of the interviewer is communicated by some process of suggestion to the mind of the interviewee. Harvey (61) studied experimentally the effect of bias introduced into instructions given to a group of interviewers. Almost half of their subsequent estimates showed the effect of the bias, though they did not think they had been influenced by the report read before the interview. Only one of the five interviewers was not influenced; he recognized the possibility of bias and consciously resisted it. Stanton and Baker came to a more discouraging conclusion from their study of interviews with two hundred college students, namely, that

the bias of the interviewer exerts some determining effect upon the outcome of the interview even when the interviewer is experienced, the direction of the bias

is known to him, and the material has no personal or emotional connotation (133:134).

Further,

As opportunity for forgetting increases, the effect of the interviewer-bias is to make the responses more and more in accord with the bias . . . (133:134).

Friedman (55), however, who experimented similarly with one hundred students, reported findings that did not confirm those of Stanton and Baker.

Another concept of reliability is that of agreement among persons in interpreting the content of a recorded or observed interview. Some work has been done on the ability of judges to agree as to the number and kinds of procedures used in phonographic recordings of interviews. Porter (99) found a high agreement among judges as to the number and frequency of procedures used in the interviews (coefficients of correlation of $+ .90$ and $+ .85$ respectively). However, their agreement as to the type of procedures used was only 45 per cent. One might question whether this kind of study contributes much to the real problem of achieving accurate interpretation of the personal motivations revealed in the interview. The judges are handicapped by having only the verbal part of the interview. Facial expression and bodily movements and attitudes sometimes tell more than words about the interviewee's feelings and drives. Reid and Snyder (104) reported lack of agreement among counselors in the interpretation of feelings, both from phonographic records and printed accounts of interviews.

In the therapeutic type of interview, reliability becomes of little or no significance because individual differences in the interview approach are required to meet individual differences in clients and their problems. The retest type of reliability would be out of the question, the split-halves type of reliability meaningless in a relationship as fluid and progressive as a therapeutic interview. Consistency among interviewers might be studied if it were practical for more than one interviewer to cover the same ground with a client.

VALIDITY

The problem of determining the validity of an interview is far more important and more complex than the problem of determining its reliability. One concept of the validity of an interview is its correspondence to reality. In fact-finding interviews the accuracy of the data obtained can be determined by comparing the information given in the interview with the actual conditions. For example, Jenkins (69) determined the validity of the information given by interviewees on the brands of goods

they last purchased, by means of records of the actual purchases. The agreement was, on the average, 78 per cent.

A second kind of validity is that of accuracy of prediction on the basis of the interview. In the employment interview validity means accuracy in appraising the probable success of the applicant in a job. When the worker's success can be definitely measured by his production, the accuracy of the prediction and the effectiveness of the interviewer can be ascertained. However, controlled experiments are necessary in which the production of those whom the interviewer has rated high is compared with that of those whom he has rated low. There have been studies of the effect on the accuracy of appraisal of various devices such as a guide to observation in the interview, rating scales, and questionnaires to be filled out by the applicant before the interview.

In schools and colleges the interviewer frequently tries to estimate the student's ability to meet course requirements. One investigator (32) reported that the correlations between students' marks and interviewers' estimates of their ability, based on high school records, test scores, and the interview itself, varied from .66 for one interviewer to .73 for the other. Although these correlations indicate that the interviewers were frequently right, they are too far from unity to serve as a basis for prediction in individual cases. There will be some students whose learning potentialities will be seriously under- or overestimated.

In predicting students' mental ability, the unstandardized interview has been shown to have practically no value. A carefully standardized interview, on the other hand, not recognized by the subjects as a disguised intelligence test, had a reliability of .96 and a correlation of $+.82$ with the results of standardized group intelligence tests (128). In practical situations, however, this interview-intelligence test was found to be too artificial (83). Standardization of the interview does not necessarily increase validity; the highest authenticity is obtained when the interview is so skillfully adapted to each individual that he will make his most insightful, sincere, and accurate response. The highly standardized interview is lacking in flexibility.

A third method of validating interview information is that of comparing it with data obtained through questionnaires, tests, and other verbal methods. This method is unsatisfactory because the questionnaire is often less accurate than the interview. For example, Jackson (68) compared personality traits indicated by the interview with the *California Test of Personality*, the *Woody Student Inquiry Blank*, and ratings by the experimenter, teachers, and parents. He obtained correlations above $+.50$ between the traits measured by the California test and those indicated in the interview, and low correlations between the Woody blank

and the interview. The interview was found to be almost as effective as the California test in the appraisal of self-adjustment and social adjustment. Group tests and ratings evaluate different traits; tests and interviews are less influenced by school achievement and intelligence than are teachers' ratings. Since paper-and-pencil personality tests are open to serious criticism, not much is gained by validating the interview against them.

Validity of the therapeutic interview has been studied in various ways by different investigators. Those who believe that the purpose of the interview is to promote insight on the part of the client analyze verbatim records of interviews for evidences of insight. Assum and Levy considered the following changes in the client's attitude during the interview to be evidences of increasingly adequate adjustment:

(1) greater acceptance of self, (2) diminished feelings of social inadequacy, (3) decreased unproductive life fantasy, (4) a greater self-assertion toward external circumstances, and (5) increased ability to cope with the inevitable problems that an individual must face in life (10:89).

If the interviewer believes the cessation of symptoms to be the best indication of the success of an interview, he will regard this sort of evidence in the interview record as indication of the validity of the process.

If, however, the investigator does not consider an interview or series of interviews successful until the client is able to make a good adjustment in life situations, he will use this adjustment as a criterion against which to validate his interview procedure.

Muench (92) made a significant attempt to evaluate nondirective methods by measuring personality changes during treatment. He administered the Rorschach, the *Kent-Rosanoff Free Association Test*, and the *Bell Adjustment Inventory* before and after a series of interviews. The adjustment of each of the twelve cases was also evaluated by the interviewer at the conclusion of treatment and classified as "successful," "partially successful," or "unsuccessful." Improvement was most clearly demonstrated by the Rorschach test, less clearly by the Kent-Rosanoff scores, and least clearly by the Bell inventory. The test results coincided with the interviewer's judgment as to which were the successful cases.

RELATIVE EFFECTIVENESS AS COMPARED WITH OTHER TECHNIQS

In a review of the use of tests in England during World War II, Vernon (152) concluded that, though tests supply useful information, they cannot take the place of careful interviews.

The use of interviews to supplement other technics is another aspect of this problem. For three years, from fifteen to twenty central Massa-

chusetts high schools co-operated with Clark University in a project for high school juniors and seniors (141). Pupils of all levels of mental ability and with various kinds of plans were chosen as likely to profit from vocational and educational guidance. The university administered a battery of tests and inventories, recorded forty interviews, and asked teachers to fill out the American Council cumulative record card. The interviews were informal; they included a discussion of test and questionnaire results and their possible significance in relation to the student's present situation, ambitions, and problems.

What did these interviews contribute to the counselor's understanding of the pupil? How did the pupil's appearance, manner of meeting people, proficiency in oral expression, and personality change the counselor's previous estimate of him? The first diagnosis was definitely changed in only two, or 5 per cent, of the cases. In one of the forty cases new facts were brought to light, and in two cases new possibilities were discovered in the interview; the original diagnosis was still valid, although expanded. In 10 per cent, the situation was somewhat clarified by the interview, but the diagnosis was in no way modified. In 77.5 per cent of the cases the preliminary diagnosis was confirmed without alteration.

These results support one salient conclusion:

The interview adds little to the average, carefully made vocational and educational diagnosis based on tests and questionnaires. A few cases are made clearer or are altered slightly by the interview; a very few are radically changed. . . . The contribution of the interview to vocational diagnosis is largely in the field of personality, its other contributions being the bringing out of facts missed by the more objective techniques (141:326).

On the other hand, Burge (28), Joseph Dewey (45), and Brownell (26) have found that the interview may add very important diagnostic information to test results. The interview sheds light upon the student's habits of work, his misconceptions, and the processes he is using in reading, in arithmetic, and in other subjects. This very important diagnostic information about the *processes* of learning cannot be obtained from the examination of responses on standardized tests. Moreover, if an hour's interview produced as sound a diagnosis as five or six hours of testing would do, much time and expense could be saved.

If the purpose of an interview is to help the person effect changes in his attitudes and behavior through gaining understanding of himself and his relationships, its validity will have to be determined by a study of his behavior in life situations. This is the ultimate criterion of the success of an interview. To attribute changes in behavior solely to the interview is obviously impossible. Even when control groups are set up, uncontrolled variables will unequally affect the behavior of members of both groups.

Self-Rating by the Interviewer

An interviewer may ask himself the following questions as a check on certain factors that may affect the success of an interview in its different stages:

Preparation for the Interview

1. Was I physically in good condition and mentally alert, or was I fatigued at the close of a hard day or a long series of interviews?
2. Did I schedule sufficient time for the interview?
3. Was there provision for privacy and reasonable freedom from interruption?
4. Did my desk and office suggest welcome, and leisure to talk with the student?
5. Did I have a background of available data about the student that would help me to understand him better in the interview but would not bias me against him in any way?
6. Did I have information about the educational and vocational opportunities and other facts that the student might need?
7. Had I previously established a reputation for seeing the student's point of view, being genuinely helpful, and not disclosing confidences?

Beginning of the Interview

1. Was I sensitive to the student and did I use an appropriate approach?
2. Was I able to create a psychological atmosphere in which the student was stimulated to take responsibility for thinking through the situation?
3. Was I successful in maintaining free communication between us?

Development of the Interview

1. Did the student feel free to express his negative feelings?
2. Did he have opportunity to release tension?
3. Was my attitude one of sympathetic objectivity?
4. Was I sincere and did I show genuine respect for the student?
5. Was my own attitude, so far as I know, free from bias?
6. Did I follow the leads suggested by the student?
7. Did I help him to clarify and expand his positive feelings?
8. Did he establish a more forward-looking, positive, hopeful attitude during the interview or series of interviews?
9. Was I able to give the student the information he needed when he was ready to use it in order to move forward realistically in his thinking?

10. Did he become willing to face his problem frankly during the course of the interview?
11. Did he gain helpful insights about himself and his relationships?
12. Did he make definite plans for his next step and seem eager to co-operate in carrying out the plans?
13. Did the interview help to make the student more self-reliant—give him a method of facing life situations more constructively?
14. Was the time spent in the interview an experience of value in itself?
15. Did the student leave the interview or series of interviews with a feeling of satisfaction, greater self-confidence, and encouragement?

Effect upon the Interviewee

1. Does the student feel free to come back for further interviews at any time?
2. Does he show a cordial, friendly attitude toward the interviewer?
3. Has he advised other students to consult the interviewer?
4. Has there been any desirable subsequent change in his behavior or attitude that might be directly attributed to the interview?
5. If he outlined an appropriate plan in the interview, did he carry it out in part or in whole?
6. Was the interview considered by counselor and student as part of a total guidance program?
7. Was the interview, in and for itself, a satisfying experience for the student?

Research on the Interview

SECURING ACCURATE RECORDS

The first important step in research on the interview was taken when the phonographic record was developed. Covner (39, 40, 41, 42) compared counselors' written reports of their interviews with phonographic recordings of the same interviews. He found that the average counselor records only about one-third of the actual interview and that the content recorded is from one-tenth to one-fourth inaccurate. Moreover, the counselor does not always write up the most important parts of the interview. The more experienced interviewers make better records.

ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWING PROCESS

The second step was to analyze the phonographic records in various ways: to classify client and counselor responses with respect to type, frequency, and position in the interview series; to note the kinds of client responses evoked by different behavior on the part of the interviewer;

to observe the conditions under which movement takes place in an interview; to analyze the relative kind and amount of talking by interviewer and interviewee as the series of interviews progresses; to submit the client's and the counselor's responses to interpretation by several judges. Counselors may gain a better understanding of the interview process by this kind of insightful analysis of recorded interviews. Snyder (132) gives a very good detailed review of these researches.

Analytical study of interviews (75, 131) shows what the counselor actually does. In nondirective interviews (131) clarification of the client's feeling comprised about one half of the counselor's responses; accepting what the client said comprised about 30 per cent. In the beginning of the interview series, he often structured or set up the situation so that the counsellee would know what to expect. He rarely used persuasion, disapproval, or criticism; he made only slightly more use of approval and encouragement. The client's responses were divided equally between statements about his problem at the beginning, and expressions of insight and understanding as the treatment progressed (30 per cent each); discussion of plans for the future toward the end of the treatment comprised 12 per cent of the total client responses. Analysis of phonographic records also showed a change from negative to positive attitudes during the counseling process (102).

Another analysis of interviews by Snyder (131) showed the immediate relationship between the counselor's comments and the interviewee's responses. He found that insights, statement and clarification of the problem, and positive feelings tend to follow nondirective comments by the counselor. Except for approval and encouragement, the more directive counselor comments—interpretation, explanation, suggestions for the client's activities, persuasion, disapproval, and criticism—seem to produce "unfavorable" responses on the part of the client.

Students' appraisals of interviewing are also worth considering. Acheson (1:45-46) reported the following favorable comments by college students:

"The dean taught me better study habits."

"Helped me to diagnose and correct my difficulty."

"Did not lecture or scold."

"Encouraged me and developed self-confidence."

"Helped to budget my time and work out a study schedule."

"Helped me to strike a balance between work and outside activities."

"Gave a good idea of what a well-balanced college life should be."

"Helped me to stop worrying."

Among the criticisms made by students were these:

"The dean implied that I could not do better."

"Only advised me to work harder."

"Did not diagnose my case but gave a wholesale solution."

"Did not know enough about me to give good advice."

"Offered no suggestions."

Another attempt to obtain students' reactions to interviews evoked somewhat superficial responses. They emphasized the need for more knowledge on the part of the interviewer—knowledge of the individual student's early development, of educational opportunities, and of occupations (82).

COMPARISON OF DIFFERENT INTERVIEWING METHODS

A comparison of directive and nondirective counseling with respect to the number of words used by the client and by the counselor was made by Porter (99). In the directive interviews, he found that the counselors talked, on the average, 2.77 times as much as the clients, while in the nondirective interviews the counselors talked only one half as much as the clients. The directive counselors asked highly specific questions, explained, discussed, gave information, indicated topics of discussion for the client, and suggested things that he should do. The nondirective counselors employed most frequently the technics of recognizing feelings and attitudes which the client expressed verbally or in his manner, of suggesting topics of conversation, and of summarizing what the client had just said.

Another type of investigation is the analysis of the statements the counselee makes during the interview. In a study of counselees' self-concepts as expressed in nondirective interviews, Raimy (102) found that positive self-references increased in cases that seemed to be successful; this was not true of unsuccessful cases.

Some criticisms of these types of research are that they involve only a small number of cases, that they do not recognize the influence of nonverbal aspects of the interview, and that they judge the success of the interview without observation of the client's behavior in real life situations. Such criteria as nonreturn for treatment, evidence of vocational adjustment, or cessation or reduction of symptoms are not satisfactory evidence of the effectiveness of interviews (134). Even though the interview seems to move in a desirable direction, this is not conclusive evidence of success. We need to know whether the individual has been able to make a good adjustment to life situations.

FURTHER RESEARCH NEEDED

As a basis for studying interview technics, more phonographic records of different types of "successful" interviews are needed. These recorded

interviews can be analyzed to show the responses evoked by certain kinds of questions, the effect of different initial approaches, the relative amount and kind of interviewee and interviewer participation, and the quality of the insights gained. It is most important to relate the insights the interviewee expresses and the plans he makes in the interview to his behavior in life situations: Is he able to translate his insights into daily adjustments? Has the light gained in the interview resulted in less heat—anger, hostility, jealousy—in personal relationships?

Another line of research is the study of the interview in relation to other technics: What unique contribution does it make? How does it supplement and reinforce understanding gained through tests, questionnaires, and other technics? For example, theoretically the best procedure of interviewing a high school boy about his failure in algebra should be verbatim recording including the analysis of many recorded or dramatized interviews, obtaining supplementary information about aspects of the total situation, and critically evaluating and following up the interview. From a number of such studies, light should be thrown on the total results that are likely to follow a certain pattern of procedure in a carefully defined situation.

Of crucial importance is research on the preparation of interviewers. Personal counseling should be included in the preparation of counselors. This is important to show them how a counselee feels and to help them become more mature persons. Given a promising personality, instruction and supervised experience should be effective in helping a person improve the quality of his interviewing.

CHAPTER VI

Projective Technics

In line with the modern emphasis on the dynamic quality of personality, a group of technics has been designed to study personality in action. To these technics, Frank (30) gave the name *projective methods*. No other counseling technics have been so extensively studied during the last ten years. Counselors in schools and colleges should have some understanding of their nature, purpose, and use; they will hear them discussed, and will receive clinical reports on cases in which they have been used. Moreover, by becoming familiar with the projective theory and method, the counselor will become more discerning in his observation and interpretation of students' everyday behavior.

Projective technics are a method of understanding the inner world of the individual. They give the counselor a sense of the dynamic interplay of forces within each person. They throw light on his potential capacity. They aim to get at the core rather than the circumferences of his personality structure; they constitute a "total approach" to the study of personality. Rapaport described their aim as follows: "To *elicit*, to *render observable*, to *record*, and to *communicate* the psychological structure of the subject, as inherent to him at any given moment, and without study of historical antecedents" (81:8). Since the projective situation is a new experience for most persons, they have no conventional, stereotyped, culturally influenced way of responding to it.

Of all the technical procedures used in the intensive study of freshmen in the Harvard Psychological Clinic,

the Projection Tests . . . brought to light the most significant data. It was the data which most often revealed emotionally logical connection between past events and present behavior, and thereby enabled the experimenter to find a

formulation which would give meaning to otherwise disparate facts. In all projection procedures the subject is asked to give shape to ambiguous material (72:728).

Although projective technics are primarily clinical instruments, a tendency to use them in school and college situations is discernible. Workers are experimenting with the administration of some of the projective technics in groups, as well as with devices for simplifying the interpretation of responses to them.

Theoretical Basis of Projective Technics

The theoretical basis of projective technics was most clearly stated by Frank in the article in which he coined the term (30). His thinking runs somewhat as follows: Every individual lives in a social and in an individual world. The social world requires conformity; the individual's private world is a real and compelling network of highly idiosyncratic meanings and feelings. The familiar standardized tests evoke responses common to most people; the projective technics evoke individuality. The individual, presented with an unstructured situation which has little cultural patterning, "can project upon that plastic field his way of seeing life, his meanings, significances, patterns, and especially his feelings" (30:403). Thus his individual way of organizing his experiences and feelings is revealed, as by an X ray.

Reliability and Validity

The counselor naturally wants to know whether projective technics have the values attributed to them—in other words, whether they are reliable and valid. Reliability may refer to similarity of responses when the technic is repeated, similarity of underlying attitudes and personality trends revealed by the same technic at different times, similarity of results when the technic is used by different workers, and agreement among workers in the interpretation of the recorded responses of one individual.

A person's thoughts and feelings are normally too variable to give uniformity of response on repetition of the test. Indeed, retest reliability might even be undesirable; if a person is undergoing psychotherapy, changes in his attitudes and behavior are to be expected. However, in so far as the projective technics reveal the individual's basic personality structure, they might be expected to give consistent results. Hence, the apparent contradictions in statements about their reliability. For example, Arlow and Kadis (2) reported that finger paintings of one individual

changed very little with the passage of time, whereas Fleming (26), in another series of finger paintings, suggested that changes might show progress in the patient's adjustment.

In these technics, as in others, there is a danger in striving for a "spurious precision" at the expense of a more authentic picture of the complex dynamics of personality. Insight, ingenuity, art, and "extra-scientific" methods contribute to the value of the technics in studying personality, though not necessarily to their statistical reliability. However, this creative approach to projective technics does contribute to their validity.

Comparison of the results of projective methods with those of other technics is also necessary, as pointed out by MacFarlane: "When a single projective technique is used without the validating tools of measurement and case history, and without methodological responsibility, it becomes a charlatan's tool" (65:410). If one interprets projective-technic responses in a "blind" manner, i.e., without knowing anything else about the person, the personality picture thus obtained should then be compared with the personality pictures obtained from other data. In counseling and in some kinds of research, the responses to projective technics must be interpreted in the light of all other available sources of insight.

Three bases for validity were mentioned by Sargent (93:266):

1. Correspondence with case-history data or the results of personality tests; agreement between interpretation of the person's behavior in the projective situation and in clinical and life situations. For example, Fleming and Snyder (28) attempted to measure changes in children's adjustment during play therapy by giving Rogers' *Personality Test*, the "Guess Who" test, and a sociometric test before and after the play sessions. Retest results led these authors to conclude that "measurable changes in adjustment do take place as a result of nondirective group play therapy" (28:116). These criteria, however, may be inaccurate. Another possible source of error is lack of skill on the part of the judges in seeing correspondence between the personality trends shown by the projective technics and those shown by tests, case histories, and clinical studies.
2. Internal consistency—whether the responses as a whole hang together and make sense psychologically, whether recurrent patterns of organization are evident in the subject's series of responses.
3. Predictive success—correspondence between behavior predicted on the basis of the understanding of the individual gained through the projective technic and his actual behavior in life situations.

Limitations

From the standpoint of the school or college counselor, the projective technics have the following limitations:

1. It takes considerable time to administer them and to interpret their results.
2. In general, they are too subjective, though this is truer of some than of others. In play therapy, for example, the worker may read into the child's behavior what he expects to find; he may project his own organization and interpretation upon the subject's response. One skeptic in a lecture on play technics asked, "Suppose I give a child a doll and the child sticks a pin in it, what does it mean and how am I to find out what it means? Isn't my interpretation personal and subjective? How do I know I am right?"
3. They are dangerous in the hands of an amateur, and should be used only by those qualified to administer and interpret them.
4. A person who wants to become expert in their use must receive long training.

Incidentally, there is still some skepticism as to whether a person with clinical insight might not, in the majority of cases, obtain as much understanding of the individual from interviews and observation as from the projective technics.

Major Projective Technics

It is difficult to discuss projective technics in general, because they differ widely in content, intent, and the extent to which they have been validated. For this reason, the rest of this chapter will be devoted to descriptions of four important projective technics—the Rorschach method; the *Thematic Apperception Test*, more briefly referred to as the T.A.T.; the incomplete sentence technic; and play technics. The aim of these descriptions is certainly not to give the reader proficiency in their use; it is rather to acquaint him with each technic, to present evidence of its value, to point out its limitations as well as its possibilities for wider application in schools and colleges, and to suggest an approach to the interpretation of its results in connection with data from many other sources.

THE RORSCHACH METHOD

Almost forty years ago a Swiss psychologist by the name of Rorschach began experimenting with the use of inkblots as a means of diagnosing mental disorders. These inkblots were made by putting a drop of ink on a piece of paper and folding it in the middle, thus pro-

ducing a symmetrical design. He soon discovered that some blots evoked more significant responses than others. For years he experimented with thousands of inkblots and finally selected ten which proved to have the greatest diagnostic value. These are now printed on 7 by 9½ inch cards: five in black and white, two with splashes of red, and three in other colors.

Administration and scoring. The Rorschach is usually administered individually. After the examiner has gained initial rapport with the client, he produces one of the cards and simply asks the client to tell what he sees in the inkblot—what it means to him, “what this might be.” During this first phase of the administration of the Rorschach the examiner does little more than maintain an accepting attitude and record the responses verbatim. The second phase, the “inquiry,” aims to ascertain more fully not only what the person sees, but also where and how he sees it. This requires a thorough understanding of the Rorschach method, as well as skill in asking questions that will clarify the free responses without influencing what the subject sees in the cards. The third phase, “testing the limits,” can likewise be undertaken only by a skilled examiner who keeps in mind the significant elements in the scoring and is able to ascertain whether the subject can respond to the color, shading, and other meaningful aspects of the inkblots. The need for giving the test under standardized conditions was indicated by Kimble (54), who found a striking increase in responses to color when the test was given in a social atmosphere instead of in the laboratory situation.

Attempts have been made to give the Rorschach test to groups. The ten cards are then thrown on a screen and the subjects are asked to respond to each card as they do in an individual examination. However, the group method limits the spontaneity of the subject's response. “Its greatest contribution at the present time would seem to be in screening the ‘probably ill’ from the ‘probably well’ . . .” (49:134). Even if the group method yielded responses as valid as those obtained by individual administration, the problem of their interpretation would still be unsolved. Not enough Rorschach experts are available to interpret large numbers of Rorschach tests.

To make the Rorschach method less subjective, that is, less dependent upon the worker's clinical insight, various scoring systems have been devised. Two widely used methods have been worked out by Klopfer (55) and by Beck (7). Another, described by Hilden (48), shows graphically a succession of diagnostic information from the Rorschach cards. Harrower-Erickson (42) devised a multiple-scoring form for use when the group Rorschach is administered to large groups. Rapaport, however,

warned against giving too much attention to objective scoring and thus neglecting the insightful analysis of the responses as a whole. "Such preoccupation," he says, "can easily blunt any appreciation of the psychological processes active in the subject taking the test, and can lead only to mechanical application and interpretation" (81:9).

Illustration. The responses of three different persons to Card I of the Rorschach series will illustrate how the inkblots evoke individuality. A complete record of their responses to all the cards and the accompanying questions would give a better idea of how this technic contributes to an understanding of the personality. In the lefthand column are the verbatim replies made in the first part of the procedure; in the righthand column are the additional details elicited by the second part, or "inquiry."

The first subject was a business woman twenty years of age and single. Her responses to Card I were as follows:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Two fairies on each side with wings and noses. | Long noses, wearing hair in pompom fashion. Wings outstretched—cut off. Probably wearing ornaments in hair. |
| 2. Two prehistoric monsters pulling something in middle. | Pointed heads. They're stupid. They're furry, backs so uneven. Two pairs of legs in the middle. Thin skin. See vertebrae all the way down. Very small head. Useless paws. Tail. Uneven outline. |
| 3. Top of a statue. A fountain bombed. | Reminds me of town in Europe. Not like our country. Bottom jagged and should be something on top. Gives feeling of something bombed away. |

Miss B—— tended to look at the card as a whole, using as much of it as possible for well-organized concepts, but this approach was not used exclusively. She is, however, able and inclined to organize material into whole responses. Even though she shifts from whole to detail approach, she is not too compulsive. She followed the natural configurations of the blots. Even though she used many small details, she frequently developed them into large details. This would seem to indicate that she does not want to get lost in details.

Card I illustrates her abstract approach. She makes things logical from clear details.

The second subject was a man thirty-six years of age, married. He uses mathematics in his vocation. He was born in Europe and came to the United States at the age of nine. Socially, he is quite popular.

None of the Rorschach responses suggests that he is responsive to external stimuli. He appears somewhat superficial, not as affectionate

as surface appearance would suggest. In Card I the "arms stretched out" suggests the idea of helpless aspiration, of one afraid to grow up.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. A bat flying through space. | Wings and general shape. |
| 2. An airplane. | It's gliding. Photographed from above.
Maybe because it's black. |
| 3. Dots look like shrapnel, pictures of flak. | They seem to stand there in photos.
They don't move. |
| 4. A little child standing through center. You get the impression of arms stretched out. | It's in the center wrapped in cellophane. I don't see any head. |

The third subject was a single woman twenty-two years of age. She was brought up in a small town. Family relationships were poor. At about the age of seventeen, she came to a large city to work.

Her number of responses in the Rorschach falls within the average range. In the series as a whole there are indications of poor emotional control and social adjustment, lack of social sensitivity and tact.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. You could call it an airplane. | The whole thing—wings, tail, shape. |
| 2. Two people—monks—in the middle with their hands up. | Figures in the center. Hoods over heads suggest monks. |
| 3. Two witches with capes flying. | Standing on a cliff with wind blowing.
Plotting something. I can't see the cliff. Must be on a cliff because the capes are blowing. |

Interpretation. As has already been suggested, interpretation of Rorschach responses is based on clinical judgment of the responses as a whole checked by objective scoring. A person with psychological perspicacity, training in the Rorschach method, and three or more years of experience in interpreting Rorschach responses, can usually write in less than an hour a personality sketch which will correspond closely with a description derived by scoring methods that take many hours. One might say that the shorter the time spent in interpretation, the more experience and training are required.

The changes in adults' moods and the variations in their external conditions are usually not sufficient to distort the fundamental personality pattern revealed by the Rorschach test. With children and adolescents, however, a single Rorschach may be a reflection of a momentary mood. For this reason, it should be interpreted as valid only for the time of testing (7).

Reliability and validity. The common statistical concepts of reliability are not applicable to the Rorschach test. The split-halves method violates Rorschach's first principle that the set of cards is a unit presenting a succession of stimuli and introducing color and shading at well-

defined points. Any procedure that attempts to study the responses in isolation "is contrary to the basic conception of the Rorschach psychogram" (47:70). Reported reliabilities cover a range from .33 to .94, the majority being around .50 to .60 (58).

One criterion of the validity of Rorschach responses is their success in differentiating persons known to have mental disorders from those accepted as normal. Clinical experience indicates that the Rorschach test has value for this purpose. In general, psychiatrists' comments are more favorable than those of psychologists (57). Even the group Rorschach was reported to identify mental cases; Harrower-Erickson and Steiner were able to set up a critical score that included 73 to 79 per cent of state hospital patients and only 6 to 16 per cent of apparently normal adults (43:157). As we have already noted, the multiple-choice form of the Rorschach was less satisfactory. Challman, in an experiment with 150 employees and 100 patients in a state hospital, reported that, although the critical score identified 69 per cent of the patients correctly, 23 per cent of the employees were falsely included (15). Other investigators (66) concluded that the multiple-choice Rorschach (see page 153) does not discriminate adequately between normal and psychotic persons. Even as a screening it was "found unsuitable for military selection" (112:94) and for selecting applicants for jobs (5).

Another criterion of validity is the correspondence between the Rorschach analysis made without reference to other data about the individual, and descriptions of his personality from other sources such as clinical records, systematic observation, and paper-and-pencil tests. Swift (102) matched the Rorschach records of fifteen preschool boys and fifteen girls with personality descriptions written by their teachers. Of the thirty cases, one investigator correctly matched fourteen, of which eleven were boys. Matching Rorschach records with psychiatric case studies presented less difficulty, as indicated by an agreement of 88 per cent. Correlation between the Binet IQ and the IQ as arrived at by the Rorschach method is fairly high; with group tests it is lower. The relationships reported with certain personality inventories are the lowest of all. Counselors should be aware of facts like these in order to make wise use of the Rorschach results submitted to them.

Values and uses of the Rorschach. Extreme opinions about the value of the Rorschach have been expressed. Beck waxes almost lyrical in describing the Rorschach as a technic

that rests on concepts of dynamic psychology, and at the same time is an objective instrument susceptible to the controls imposed by a scientific method. . . . The Rorschach Test is an instrument for projecting personality forces and nuances, some subtle, some infinitely deep, some playing right at the surface.

. . . It is a fixed stimulus, the inkblots are always the same; it is a fixed procedure, the administration is always the same, or should be. It therefore provides a constant and standard form to which to refer what each individual sees in these blots, i.e., the projections of different individuals. One may therefore judge the response pattern obtained from any one individual by patterns established for different personality groups, much as a hospital laboratory compares the color of an individual's blood with a standard chart for color of blood in various conditions (8:520-21).

Sargent (93) wisely rejected both the rash enthusiasm of converts and the blind opposition of skeptics.

The Rorschach is most useful as one of a battery of techniques for the evaluation of an individual's personality and "adjustment level." Rapaport stated that it is the most efficient single diagnostic tool for the clinical psychologist (82). It tells something about a person's spontaneity, imagination, originality; about whether he tends to be outgoing or self-centered; about his potential intelligence; about whether he has neurotic tendencies or a well-balanced personality. His responses to the Rorschach inkblots also give clues as to whether he approaches an unfamiliar situation or task in an orderly, a compulsive, or a confused way. Other uses of this technic are:

1. To distinguish between "normal" persons and persons in need of psychiatric treatment. The Rorschach makes possible early detection of persons who need psychiatric help. For example, potential psychopaths can be identified and treated before they have committed antisocial acts (33). Beck (8) claims that valid patterns of Rorschach responses have been established for the healthy adult of superior intelligence, the feeble-minded, the schizophrenic, and the person with brain injury. Bühler and Lever (14) used a test of ninety-seven Rorschach diagnostic signs to distinguish alcoholics from nonalcoholics and other clinical groups. Werner (111) compared the Rorschach responses of brain-injured mental defectives with those of non-brain-injured defectives and found the method useful in differential diagnosis. However, Krugman cautioned against making final judgments and decisions on the basis of the Rorschach alone. He sees its proper place as "a basis for leads and as an adjunct to other methods of obtaining information" (59:84).
2. To differentiate between temporary environmental difficulties and more permanent mental disorders (59).
3. To show personality tendencies significant for vocational success; to distinguish between employables and nonemployables, between good workers and mediocre or inferior workers. Certain aspects of personality definitely expressed in the responses to the Rorschach cards—namely, drive, attitude, performance, persistence, authority,

responsibility, and initiative—are important for vocational success. The Rorschach is used in two ways in vocational guidance: to get a total dynamic impression of an individual's personality, and to obtain signs or clues that are predictive of success or failure in a specific occupation. The first use is the sounder one; it is in line with the underlying theory of the Rorschach. Projective technics, in general, may prove to be helpful in placing persons in jobs that require certain dynamic qualities of personality and freedom from serious neurotic tendencies.

4. To predict and plan for academic success and adjustment in college. From a study of 348 freshman college students tested by the group Rorschach, Munroe (68) found a correlation of .49 between the Rorschach and predicted academic standing. The correlation between the *American Council on Education Psychological Examination* and predicted academic standing was lower, namely, .39. There was also a higher correspondence between the Rorschach indications of adjustment and observable evidences of adjustment. In another study of college students (101), the "non-achievers" as a group gave indications in their Rorschach responses of being less well adjusted than the group who were making satisfactory records. Certain individuals in the successful group, however, showed Rorschach signs of severe maladjustment.
5. To show a person's unrealized potentialities, as, for example, his potential intelligence.
6. To guide treatment. Sometimes when the counselor feels he is at an impasse, the Rorschach gives him the additional diagnostic clues that he needs.
7. To indicate whether an individual is making progress. The success of therapy is sometimes indicated by a second Rorschach administered after the treatment has been carried on for a period of time.

The case of a young man preparing for a profession illustrates the use of the Rorschach as part of the total diagnosis and treatment. In the first interview he gave the impression of being physically frail, having difficulty in expressing himself and speaking in public, and finding it hard to concentrate. He described periods of depression and mentioned his fear of undertaking any new venture, social or vocational. He had tried to build up his self-esteem by intellectual achievement and creative work, by seeking meaning for his own life in the study of philosophy, and by demonstrating to himself that he could speak in public. The counselor reflected the more positive insights of the student: "Meeting my problem means finding my problem." "I'd like to be happy from

within." "I'd like to find some motive or drive within myself." The Rorschach picture corresponded closely to the impressions which the interviews had given: this was an intelligent, imaginative person who had difficulty in relating himself to others, although he had a strong interest in people and a need for contact with them. The Rorschach results suggested scattered ambition rather than lack of drive, and a diffused anxiety shown by a concern with details. He appeared to be struggling to establish a heterosexual adjustment despite repressive parental authority. This information helped the counselor to understand him better and to make favorable changes in his environment.

In interpreting the Rorschach test to a client, the counselor needs to know what the Rorschach meant to him—what his reaction to it was, whether it was a threat to him, whether he was worried by the possibility that the Rorschach might reveal hidden tendencies. If he is anxious about the outcome, the counselor should first mention the Rorschach findings which the client has already recognized in himself. In the sort of case just cited, he should accentuate the positive qualities revealed by the Rorschach; it is so important not to let the client's self-esteem sink too low. If the client takes the Rorschach test seriously, the many favorable features in the report may help to build up his concept of a more acceptable self.

Limitations of the Rorschach. In addition to the problems of interpretation already mentioned, the two main limitations of the technic at present are the lack of persons adequately trained to administer and interpret it and the large amount of time required for its scoring and interpretation. At the present time the method is also more appropriate for adults than for children and adolescents; its validity for preschool and elementary school children and for adolescents has not yet been adequately established (29).

THE THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

The *Thematic Apperception Test* (T.A.T.) consists of a series of twenty pictures; the person is asked to tell the story that each one suggests to him. There are two series of ten pictures each. Four editions have been prepared since the first set of pictures was published in 1935. The most recent edition was printed by the Harvard University Press. It is available in separate batteries for each sex as well as in a single battery for both sexes. The theoretical basis of the T.A.T. has been well stated by Murray, its originator:

a method of revealing to the trained interpreter some of the dominant drives, emotions, sentiments, complexes and conflicts of a personality. Special value

resides in its power to expose the underlying inhibited tendencies which the subject, or patient, is not willing to admit, or cannot admit because he is unconscious of them (75:1).

The person usually identifies himself with some character in the picture and, without realizing it, says things about the character that apply to himself. The pictures stimulate him to talk freely and to make interpretations in accord with his own past experiences and present needs and attitudes (38). To some extent he reads into the pictures his own experiences (6). According to Rapaport, "every mental illness can be studied through its manifestations in the thought processes of the subject, as expressed in psychological test performance" (81:439). The assumption underlying the use of the T.A.T. in counseling is that the responses made in the test situation also reveal the person's attitudes and ways of thinking in life situations.

The pictures encourage free association, and have been selected with the following criteria in mind:

1. No detail in the background that would limit the picture to a certain time or place.
2. Vagueness in theme; the action and expression of the people are somewhat ambiguous.
3. Incompleteness of content; the picture does not tell the whole story.
4. Characters with whom the person taking the test may readily identify himself.
5. Home and social situations in which the dynamic action is close to the subject's own personal experience.

The pictures vary somewhat in the degree to which they fulfill these requirements. Some are fairly clear in their meaning. Others are vague and capable of various interpretations.

Administration and scoring. The T.A.T. can be administered successfully to persons over four years of age whose intelligence quotient is not lower than 80 (25:364). The counselor hands the subject one of the pictures and asks him to tell what the picture means to him—what he thinks led up to the situation, what is happening, and what the outcomes will be (81, 83, 108). The person is encouraged to give full play to his imagination. All responses are recorded verbatim, the time is set down, and pauses are noted. This method may be modified in various ways: the examiner may use only certain pictures; he may question the person as to the source of his ideas; and, as the last step in the procedure, he may test his tentative impressions, as in the Rorschach, by direct questioning (61). Adaptations of the T.A.T. have been made for various age groups and for group testing (6).

The examiner should remember that his perception of the test may

not be identical with the subject's perception of it. "When a different frame of reference is utilized the form of response to the pictures may be altered" (37:92).

A full hour is required for administering each series of pictures. The test is usually given in two sessions, one or more days apart. Adults make their stories, on the average, about three hundred words in length; ten-year-old children, about one hundred and fifty words.

The scoring is less complicated and time consuming than that of the Rorschach. This makes the T.A.T. especially "useful in the diagnosis when time is limited" (31:600). Wyatt (113) has given a useful overview of the scoring systems that have been employed with the T.A.T. and has suggested an analysis form to use in its interpretation.

Interpretation. One may begin the analysis of a story by determining the character with whom the person seems to identify. This is usually, but not always, a central character of the same sex who demonstrates socially acceptable behavior. It is also likely to be a character whose history seems to be similar to that of the subject (88).

As the examiner reads a series of stories, he notes their prevailing "tone," the consistency within the series, and the major themes or "themas." Although the recurrence of themas is important, their frequency should not be overstressed; a thema that occurs only once may be highly significant in the whole set of stories (45:36).

More important are recognition and insightful interpretation of the dynamic elements of the stories—strivings and attitudes, obstacles recognized, and ideas expressed about people and things. These are all to be viewed as forming a pattern of meaningful relationships. This kind of dynamic analysis yields understanding of the individual's inner adjustment—anxiety, defense mechanisms, maturity—his emotional reactivity—spontaneity, drive toward the outer world—his sexual adjustment and family dynamics.

The examiner also notes any unusual responses that go far afield from the content of the picture. He notices whether the plot, the choice of words, and any misinterpretations of the pictures are stereotyped, original, or strangely different from those of the other persons who have taken the test (88). He should be aware, for example, that "normal children produced intensively aggressive fantasies" (4:50).

The subject's creativity and imagination may be indicated by the quality of his stories; his mental functioning by

(a) inclusive whole concepts of good quality, (b) well-organized and balanced stories, (c) internal logic and consistency in stories, (d) number of elaborations upon concepts consistent with central theme, (e) elaborations on central theme that clarify, (f) organizational level that goes beyond enumeration and descrip-

tion, (g) number of original concepts, (h) range and variation of content, (i) language, vocabulary, etc. and (j) story content that suggests a broader background of experience than is verbalized (45:40).

It is perhaps worth remarking that by paying attention to these characteristics in their students' informal and personal essays, teachers might obtain a more accurate understanding than they usually do of pupils' mental capacities.

The more formal characteristics of the stories are also worth studying—their compliance with instructions (81:423), their coherence and adequacy or completeness, the way they end, the vividness and detail with which actions and characters are described.

Elements or ideas which the person rejects or omits in inventing stories about a picture may have as much significance as those that he expresses. The intensity of his response is also an important factor to consider. Instances of blocking or hesitation in responding are recorded and should be considered in the interpretation.

Gough (37) called attention to the importance of knowing the person's cultural background, frame of reference, and mind-set toward the test. If, for example, he is aware of the purpose of the test, he may deliberately give the kind of responses he feels are expected of him. The examiner should also recognize, if possible, the influence of recent experiences, especially of stories the subject has read or movies he has seen.

All of these aspects of the stories give cumulative clues as to the person's strivings, needs, motives, attitudes, and conflicts. His true personality structure, however, emerges only from the worker's creative integration of these significant insights. He must relate their intellectual and emotional elements with observations of the person's behavior. It is evident why some psychologists question "the feasibility and desirability of reducing the kind of data obtained from the Rorschach or the Thematic Apperception Test to numerical scores" (92:244).

Bettelheim (10) experimented with self-interpretation by having thirty-two college students in a course in dynamic psychology take the T.A.T. and interpret their own records—an experience which seemed to have beneficial educational and therapeutic effects.

Reliability and validity. There are similar problems in ascertaining the reliability and validity of each of the projective technics. In general, the usual statistical methods of demonstrating reliability do not apply. With the T.A.T., the counselor is interested in reliability, not in the sense of ability to produce the same story at two different times, but rather in the consistency of the attitudes, drives, and conflicts implied by the stories (39:57).

The retest method is not applicable because individual variation is to

be expected at each repetition (20:240). Tompkins found that it required twenty repetitions of the T.A.T. over as many days "to bring out all the significant themes for one person" (93:275). This would indicate that high reliability can hardly be expected from one repetition. According to Murray:

Seeing that the T.A.T. responses reflect the fleeting mood as well as the present life situation of the subject, we should not expect the repeat reliability of the test to be high, even though the bulk of the content objectifies tendencies and traits that are relatively constant. Data on this point are lacking (72:18).

The split-halves or comparable-form measures of reliability are likewise inapplicable to the T.A.T. because of variations in the style, content, and length of any one set of stories.

The best method of determining T.A.T. reliability is to study the correspondence between independent analyses and interpretations of the same responses by two or more psychologists (20:242; 40:99; 81:499). Mayman and Kutner (67), in a study of ninety-one stories, found fairly high agreement among the judges: 89 per cent agreement on the character with whom the subject had identified, and 81 per cent agreement on the type of situation that was causing strain or pressure. The correlations among the judges' ratings on the subject's empathy and his emotional involvement with the characters in the story were .91 and .83 respectively. Combs (20) obtained lower percentages of agreement (50 to 60) among different judges in their analyses of the T.A.T. responses of forty-six college students. They agreed more closely, however, on the "reasonableness" of the interpreters' analyses. In general, judges agree better on total impressions obtained from the T.A.T. than on details of interpretation. In these studies of the reliability of interpretation, agreement among judges may merely measure "communality of thinking among the judges, resulting in spurious correspondence of ratings, quite independent of the particular materials to which the judgments are applied" (93:276).

The T.A.T., like the Rorschach, has been validated against three main types of criteria:

1. Correspondence with other criteria such as the report of a psychotherapist on the basis of extensive contact with the client, traits described in the social case history, total impressions obtained from case histories, clinical observations, responses in psychoanalysis, analyses of dreams, and other methods and tests. None of these criteria is entirely satisfactory because each instrument measures somewhat different aspects of personality. However, comparisons that have been made between the T.A.T. and case studies support the conclusion that the T.A.T. is "clinically useful" (38, 87). Ratings on

given traits likewise showed a substantial agreement with T.A.T. responses (74). Combs (18, 19) found little correspondence between the situations described in T.A.T. stories and those found in autobiographies; in only 2.8 per cent of the cases were the story plots of the T.A.T. practically identical with the life situations described in the autobiographies. However, his study indicated a much greater similarity in the attitudes and desires expressed in the two media. Much more experimental work is needed on the relation between estimates of intelligence based on the T.A.T. and the results of standardized intelligence tests (31). Impressions obtained from all the available data can be compared with T.A.T. records. For example, the analysis of Indian children on a modified form of the T.A.T. compared closely with other known data about the children (45).

2. Internal consistency.
3. Predictive success: interpretations suggested to the counselor may be tested during subsequent interviews to see whether they have led to fruitful lines of treatment. Verification of the diagnosis made on the basis of the T.A.T. by subsequent study and therapy is perhaps the best method of determining its validity.

Henry (45) used two methods of determining the validity of the T.A.T. — the matching method and the "agreement analysis" method. In the matching method the judges were given the life history and the analyses of the T.A.T., the Rorschach, and a battery of tests, and were asked to read them all and "to attempt to identify the individual described in the T.A.T. analysis" (45:55). The first judge matched eighteen, the second twenty-four, and the third fifteen of the possible twenty-four pairs. Only three could be expected to be matched by chance. In the agreement analysis, 451 ratings were made. There was 83.1 per cent agreement between one T.A.T. and at least one other source of data. Henry concluded that the majority of the ratings made from analyses of T.A.T. records were valid in the sense of corresponding with the results of other measures.

Values and uses of the T.A.T. The T.A.T. has been used for various purposes (31):

1. As a preface to a series of interviews or a short psychoanalysis.
2. As a supplement to the Rorschach, the case study, and other means of diagnosis; it has been used as a screening device to indicate persons in need of psychotherapy.
3. As an aid to the interviewer in getting the client to talk freely.
4. As a means of understanding the conflicts that have led to a breakdown (25:363).

5. As a means of understanding psychodynamics, i.e., the motives, needs, conflicts, and unconscious drives that lend meaning and coherence to observed behavior. Elliott, who used the T.A.T. with soldiers, described it as "an X-Ray of personality which allows the clinician to peer into the emotional life of the patient" (25:363).
6. As a psychotherapeutic agent in the direct use of the stories in helping the person to gain insight into his problems (25:375).
7. In studying differences between groups, as, for example, between delinquent and nondelinquent boys (110).

The use of the T.A.T. is not limited to any one culture; it has been used successfully with thirty Indian children to provide data on "the intellectual and emotional aspects of personality and upon the emotional significance of life experiences" in that culture (45:124). It can also provide valuable data for studying personality structure and development in other societies.

Murray is commendably cautious in his claims for the T.A.T. He says: "*The conclusions that are reached by an analysis of T.A.T. stories must be regarded as good 'leads' or working hypotheses to be verified by other methods, rather than as proved facts*" (72:14).

Limitations. The counselor should be aware that the T.A.T. has a number of limitations, among which are the following:

Individuals' perceptions of the test situation vary (37); their responses are not uniform to the stimulus of the pictures. In some persons the pictures evoke unconscious motivations and desires, as the test intends; in others, they evoke only stereotyped, conventional responses. Individuals may also vary in their understanding and interpretation of the nature and purpose of the test. Its value depends on whether the person understands and responds to the test instructions.

The factor of selective memory and its relation to the person's recent experiences should also be recognized. Some persons are more influenced than others by books, motion pictures, and other recent experiences.

The unlimited time allowed on the test gives the subject a chance to check on the internal logical consistency of his responses. For this reason, Rapaport believes, the T.A.T. allows "more conventional and hiding-screen responses to be introduced than on the Rorschach or Word Association Test" (81:5).

The T.A.T. explores a somewhat restricted area. The person may not touch on important aspects of his personality.

The T.A.T. is not yet adequately standardized. Thus far, there are no comprehensive data showing the relative frequency of responses to each T.A.T. picture, such as have been obtained for the Rorschach.

As with all projective technics, inadequate background and experience on the part of the examiner constitute a serious limitation.

The counselor should also take into account the possible influence of certain conditions upon the responses. Among these are the subject's rapport with the examiner, his readiness to reveal an inner world of feeling, his immediate surroundings and mood, his memories of past experiences, and his education, intelligence, and cultural background. The examiner's skill is shown in his control of such extraneous factors and in his recognition of cultural stereotypes. Symonds made the point that a person's behavior in life situations cannot be predicted with any degree of certainty from picture-story material, because if he expresses a conflict in his overt behavior he does not need to talk about it. If, on the other hand, he represses the conflict in his daily life, he may have a need to express it in fantasy (103). Bach reported that "over 75% of the thematic responses were reproductive of realistic conditions in the child's everyday environment" (4:50). Girls' responses were more stereotyped and less free than those of boys; boys were found to be more aggressive.

The counselor may project his own personality and theories into the interpretation of the results. This danger may be partly overcome if the subject is asked to make a self-evaluation of his responses to the pictures (10). If the T.A.T. and other projective technics do reveal the person's private world unbeknown to him, it is imperative that the results of these methods be available only to ethical persons who are professionally qualified to interpret and use the results (18:74-75).

Relation of the T.A.T. to the Rorschach. These two projective technics complement each other (16, 39, 109). While the Rorschach gives insight into the *structure* of personality, indicating, for example, the presence of much anxiety, the T.A.T. emphasizes *content*, e.g., what the person is anxious about. Their joint use is peculiarly effective and has unique value.

Since the two methods have some values in common, one can serve as a check on the other at points where substantial overlapping occurs. This overlapping is most likely to apply to estimates of imagination, originality, emotionality, and certain qualitative intellectual attributes (39:59).

INCOMPLETE SENTENCE TECHNIC

The incomplete sentence technic is a hybrid of the paper-and-pencil personality inventories, free association tests, and projective technics. It is a promising method of studying personality (84, 89, 100). Symonds (104) stated that the sentence completion test seems to reveal anxieties and hostilities, and to be less contaminated with rationalizations than

are inquiries into some other aspects of the person's total personality. The sentence completion test is not yet a safe basis for prediction of an individual's behavior and personality. However, when used in connection with other cumulative-record data, as Dr. Gertrude Hildreth used it in the Lincoln School ten or more years ago, it throws light on important personality trends.

The method is simple: The subject is presented with a number of incomplete sentences which he finishes in any way that he wishes. The responses of a high school boy and girl to a few of these incomplete sentences will illustrate the technic. The italicized words are the part of the sentence presented as a stimulus:

Adolescents are people who think they know everything.

Adolescents are pretty unhappy at times.

Money is not the best thing in life.

Money does not bother me too much.

My best friend is my dog.

My best friend is a boy.

The tendency to make neutral, superficial, or conventional responses is one of the limitations of this technic, as is evident in many of the responses. This obviously reduces its value as a deeply diagnostic instrument.

The sentence completion test may be interpreted by projective methods. As the counselor reads an individual's responses, he notes which indicate conflicts or unhealthy situations, which show positive or healthy attitudes, and which are neutral (89). For example, one boy's sentence completion test suggest his home relationships either actual or perhaps wished for:

My mother is a swell person.

Men are usually fond of women.

My father and I are great pals.

A baby is very welcome.

My home is full of cheerfulness.

This boy also revealed his fear of another war and his insecurity about the future:

The worst things in life can happen to anyone.

The world is full of evil people.

My nerves are jittery.

I fear another war.

I regret that there might be another war.

As with other projective technics, the counselor tries to see the total pattern of attitudes and feelings revealed in the series of responses and to use it as part of the total study of the individual.

PLAY TECHNICS

Recognition of the inappropriateness of the psychoanalytic method for certain individuals—young children, people who are extremely withdrawn, inhibited, or repressed, and others who do not respond to psychoanalytic methods—has led to the introduction into psychoanalysis of the play technics. A symposium on "Play Therapy" (36) summarized in 1938 the best thinking of some of the leaders in this field. A more recent survey of therapeutic play technics in Great Britain and the United States, made in 1945 by Traill (105), gives valuable information about this method. The nondirective approach, which is often used in play situations, has been described by Axline (3) and by Landisberg and Snyder (60).

Play technics are most effectively employed as part of a total treatment process. Gitelson and collaborators (35) reported that 75 per cent of the cases studied who received collateral treatment, i.e., placement in a foster home or institution; treatment of the mother by a psychiatrist or social worker; treatment of brothers or sisters, etc., were considered successful as contrasted with only 45 per cent who received play therapy alone. Establishing good health and modifying detrimental environmental factors also contribute to the successful use of play technics. In work with children, play technics bring the best results when the parents are treated at the same time as the child, and the child is observed in the nursery school and the home as well as in the play-therapy room.

Theory underlying play technics. As in other kinds of psychotherapy, a satisfying relationship with an adult who maintains an attitude of sympathetic understanding and positive expectancy is basic. Lack of such a warm and accepting relationship is a major cause of behavior difficulties in many children. Therapy is the process of growth in this relationship. During treatment, the child learns to relate himself to another person who both understands him and sets time limits and a few necessary restrictions upon his expressions of feeling.

In this relationship the client gets his feelings out into the open. By acting out emotionally his feelings about a situation he releases tensions, relieves anxieties, and gains perspective. As the play sessions continue, the child's play becomes freer, more mature, and more constructive (1).

At the same time, the therapist, in this atmosphere of acceptance and affection, helps the client to clarify his feelings and his concept of himself. This he does by recognizing and reflecting the client's feelings, by giving him opportunity to make decisions and choices, and by occasionally interpreting his behavior and feelings. The present trend is to use interpretation sparingly. In these ways the therapist helps the child to

grow in his ability to establish a satisfying relationship in the play situation, to accept certain limitations, and through the play materials to work out more satisfying relationships in the home or school situation to which he has failed to adjust. In time, his social relationships with others improve so much that he no longer needs his unique relationship with the therapist. He then feels ready to end the play sessions.

Materials used in play sessions. A great variety of materials have been used.

Water, a sandbox, a life-sized nursing bottle, families of dolls, and doll furniture are the materials that seem generally to elicit the most significant responses. Bolgar and Fisher (12) used small toys—buildings, animals, people, fences, and other objects—in an experiment with one hundred adults. When invited to do as they pleased with these materials, the majority of them represented everyday life as they saw it. Thus they revealed their ideas and feelings about their world. The personality pictures derived from their responses in this play situation agreed closely with the personality patterns obtained from complete biographies.

Most of the literature on the uses of doll play as a projective technique during the past ten years consists of case records of its use with individual children. Its usefulness has been demonstrated most frequently in revealing the area in which the child's main problems lie, in developing a satisfactory working relationship between therapist and child, and in providing for the release of aggression and the abreaction of anxiety. . . . No single criterion of "good" play has been evolved. . . . The literature reveals tremendous differences in the way in which the technique is applied (78:145).

Plastic materials such as clay, plasticine, mud, and cold cream provide outlets for motor activity, aggressive destructive tendencies, expression of fantasy life (9). They help the individual to interpret his feelings. Some materials help him to develop useful skills. When told he can make anything he wishes, he feels free to express his individuality.

Finger painting combines the values of the plastic materials with those of creative art. The process is simple—spreading a colored plaster-like substance over a large wet sheet of paper and then working pattern and design into it with the fingers, hands, or arms. Shaw (95) has described the procedure in detail. Its simplicity is an advantage. It can be used with persons of any age. So little skill is required that very young children, physically handicapped persons, and seriously disturbed patients can do it. Another advantage is the ease with which an unsatisfactory picture can be wiped out and a new one started. A clinician may gain enough insight through the use of finger paints to identify and describe disturbed personalities (76). This is possible because, as Allen said,

"children can put into a painting the feeling that cannot be given verbal expression" (1:133).

Similarly, individuals invited to draw what they please with crayons, ordinary paints, and paper and pencil may express their unconscious emotional conflicts and fantasies. The spontaneous drawings and paintings of college students, when analyzed and validated, contribute to an understanding of their personality patterns (107). The Goodenough test, which calls for the drawing of a man, is a specialized intelligence test that may also throw light on mental disorders. Intelligence is estimated by the individual's ability to draw a complete figure; encephalitis and schizophrenia may occasionally be detected by figures curiously distorted.

Other creative arts have been effectively used in psychotherapy. Puppet shows present family situations and relations which reveal the individual's attitudes and feelings toward various members of his family; he is encouraged to identify himself with a character in the play. By participating in the puppet show, telling the operator what to make the characters do, the members of the audience release pent-up feelings. After the show, there is opportunity for group discussion and interviews with individuals who need help. The usefulness of puppets has been demonstrated with adolescents for whom suitable play media for diagnosis and therapy are more difficult to find than for small children.

Games such as cards or chess (27) have been used to gain rapport with intelligent, withdrawn adolescents.

Books, too, have been used in psychotherapy with children. Bradley and Bosquet (13) listed a number of books which they consider useful in overcoming resistance, developing interests, and providing an informal kind of schooling.

Another verbal medium for diagnosis and therapy is the story, used as "a form of directed phantasy." Despert and Potter (23) used three types: (a) popular stories familiar to the children (who were all psychiatric patients), (b) stories made up spontaneously by the patients—invented freely or based on a theme suggested by the physician, and (c) stories made up by the physician and told to the children by the teacher, which the children later reproduced in writing for the teacher and orally for the physician. These stories had the same values attributed to other more common forms of play technics.

"Music hath charms . . ." and therapeutic value. Rhythm bands offer young children a release for excessive motor energy; they are especially valuable with hyperkinetic (excessively active) children. Singing or playing in a group gives persons of any age a sense of "belongingness" and acceptance. That this may have a profound influence

on an individual is shown by the case of a miner who was exceedingly depressed and withdrawn. The principal of the school learned that he was a skillful violin player and asked his help in teaching pupils and leading an orchestra. Although diffident at first, he soon became enthusiastic, and not only made a valuable contribution to the community but also took a new lease on life himself.

With children referred to the Pittsburgh Child Guidance Center, a variety of media were used—wood, clay, drama, puppets (56). Competitive games were avoided with children who had already had too much conflict in their lives. As soon as possible, children were transferred from the therapeutic groups to group activities in the community such as the Scouts and extra-class school activities.

Procedures used. The procedures vary somewhat with different kinds of play materials and with the needs of the individual. However, there are certain common principles. The permissive atmosphere in the play-room encourages free and spontaneous play. In this atmosphere the child may externalize his conflicts and work them out. Play is the language in which he expresses how he feels about himself and his relationships with the worker and other persons in his environment. The play-session is child centered. The worker believes that the individual has "within himself the potentiality for achieving a new inner balance as he is helped to find value in a living relationship" (1:121).

Play therapy is not a technic of turning the child loose in a room full of toys attended by a sympathetic adult. The therapist must be sensitive to what is going on. He usually permits the child himself to determine how much participation there shall be, but remains in control as to how far it shall go. The child learns to recognize and accept certain limits to his free activity: the play period has a definite time limit; overt aggression toward the therapist is prohibited, as is the destruction of irreplaceable equipment in the room. Accepting these limits helps the child to face reality and to meet the inevitable frustrations of real life.

There is a wide range of opinions as to the value of expressing fears, anxieties, and aggressive tendencies in play. Some workers (26, 76, 85) feel that their patients merely become less tense after a play or finger-painting session; they do not believe that neuroses will disappear as a result of this type of catharsis, unless the basic conflicts are removed. Other writers (85) have found that the relaxation produced by the release type of play therapy makes the patient more accessible to treatment. Still others claim that an individual may discharge through play therapy enough of his anxiety and fears to relieve his symptoms (95).

Release of aggression—"release through violence," as a popular magazine article called it—is generally considered one of the values of play

therapy. Recently, however, more and more doubt has been expressed concerning the therapeutic value of unrestrained aggressive behavior in the play situation. There is a possible danger of stimulating hostility rather than merely releasing stored-up aggressive feelings. Moreover, if the child does not comprehend the nature of the therapeutic situation, his confusion and sense of guilt may be increased and his playroom behavior may be carried over to life situations in which it is not appropriate, thus intensifying rejection responses on the part of parents and teachers. Then, too, the error has sometimes been made of applying methods appropriate only for emotionally sick children to normal children, who need an educational rather than a therapeutic approach.

Workers agree on the value of observation during the process—how the person approaches the situation, how he behaves all during the session, what he says, how he interprets his own behavior. For example, the person's behavior in painting is often characteristic of his general attitude, as in the case of Harry:

He could not get enough of anything nor could he get it quickly enough. He used too much water and too much paint; he mixed the colors indiscriminately . . . [and obtained] a brown or gray effect. He spread the paint well beyond the limits of the paper on to the linoleum used to protect the table. . . . His movements were rapid, restless, and definitive. . . . Despite this turmoil, the content of his drawing was always something very simple—something this frustrated little boy desired: a football, a pipe, etc. (2:136).

As in the interview, the worker in the play situation responds to the child's feelings as indicated by his actions. For example, when one child said, "I can do other things, too," the worker said, "Yes, there are lots of things you can do." He responded both to the child's actions and to his words.

The worker should provide a certain progression in the play situation:

1. Establish an affectional, accepting relationship.
2. Make the demands of the play situation so easy that the child can handle them and so increase his self-confidence.
3. Decrease the special modifications of the environment as the child becomes able to meet life situations.
4. Help the child to transfer the insights and skills which he acquires to the task of meeting the demands of real life.

Laws of learning apply to emotional as well as to intellectual responses. If the total effect of the play situation is dissatisfaction, the child will tend to withdraw from it.

Many articles have been written to describe variations in the general

method of play therapy. Solomon (99) described in detail a directive type of play therapy in which the worker presents situations to which the child is expected to respond. For example, the therapist first selects a doll similar to the patient and says, "Here is a little boy about ten years old—let's see now—who else is in his family?" (99:481). The procedure consists of creating the situations and carefully studying the child's reactions to them.

Illustration. The following excerpt from a play interview with an irritable youngster illustrates the kind of content often obtained in these play sessions:

"Carl was interested in the finger paints and eager to begin. He chose yellow and when the paper was covered he started running his fingers around making 'tracks.' Then he said, 'This is a motor car. The policeman's car can't turn corners as fast as this. This is the fastest car in the world.' He began humming and making vigorous swinging motions with his hands. He started smearing the paint with the flat of his hand and singing out loud. He kept singing and swinging faster and faster. Then he stopped and said, 'Is this the way they have made those good pictures out there? This is ugly. I want to make a good picture.' He then said, 'I want to show Mummy.' His mother wasn't ready to come, so he hung the picture up carefully and took paper to make another. He covered it with red, made bars down it, and said, 'This is a cage.' He then made criss-crosses, and said, 'This is a tit-tat-too. I don't like this.' He rubbed it out and made bars again, singing happily.

"Carl seemed to get release through the painting. This was the first time he had sung during the eight sessions. He showed his longing for power by saying his car could go faster than the policeman's car. The cage and the criss-cross conflicting lines possibly suggested his own state of being hedged in and confronted with conflicting impulses."

At one play session the worker started making clay figures and gave some clay to Carl.

"Carl immediately started making a clay figure and said, 'This is going to be Peter [his younger brother]. What big eyes he's got sticking out.' Carl picked up a nail file from the table and said, 'Look, it goes through him,' as he jabbed it through the figure. He then walked the figure along the table saying, 'There's Peter walking down the street with no hands.' (Earlier in the interview he had said, 'Peter bothers me. He's not nice to my dog. He bangs my toys around. Sometimes he breaks mine, then I break his.') He went on making clay figures, saying as he made them, 'Here's Peter. Where's my mother? She's stuck down' (pushing clay figure against the table). 'She can't get up' (pounding

figure harder and harder). 'She's so far down. There, she's a pancake' (laughing and breaking off bits of the clay). 'Daddy took mother and ate her up. Bite, bite' (picking clay to pieces).

"Carl then picked up the figure of Peter and walked it to the edge of the table. 'Here goes Peter over the edge of the world.' He pushed the figure off. 'Where's Peter? He's down in the ditch. He has to stay there. He's not going to be made any more.' He then picked up the other bit of clay saying, 'That's Mummy. She's not going to be made any more.'

"Carl then wanted to make his father, saying, 'He is a soldier. I want to make him on a horse carrying a flag.' This he did and rode them over to the edge of the 'world.' He then said, 'Whoa! Don't go over the edge.' He took the figure off the horse and pitched the horse over the edge saying, 'The horse doesn't mind so he got dead, but Daddy is all right.'

"The indications of relationships obtained in the play situation in this case corresponded in a more restrained form to his behavior as described by the mother. She thinks part of Carl's irritability has arisen because he recognized that his younger brother Peter is brighter than he is. There are often words Peter knows that Carl does not know. She says that Peter is really humorous and makes everyone laugh, and Carl asks, 'Why do they laugh at him and not at me?' She complained that all their toys are broken or lost. The worker explained that Carl may be expressing some of his resentment by breaking things, and added, 'Even grown-ups feel like smashing things sometimes.' The mother replied with feeling, 'I should say they do; I often do.' She went on to say, 'I'm afraid I'm not good for the children. I know they love me but I can't manage them. My maid says they are always good when I go out but as soon as I return they start fighting and crying.'

"The play interview showed Carl's intensity of feeling against his younger brother and mother and an affection for the father that was not expressed in the restricted environment of real life."

Arlow and Kadis (2) presented and discussed four cases that showed the values of finger painting and the conditions under which it can be used most effectively. To obtain the maximum of diagnostic value from the records, the teacher or counselor should observe the way in which the person approaches the task—his posture, the metamorphosis of forms as he works, his neatness, his rate and rhythm of work, the colors and the types of lines he uses, the amount of space he uses for his designs, his satisfaction or dissatisfaction at the end. The subject should be encouraged to talk while he paints, or to tell about his painting afterward. Chaotic finger painting is related to disturbance in the individual's personality.

Interpretation. Experts differ as to the amount and kind of interpretation that should be given in the play situation. Some believe in giving only psychoanalytical interpretation; others, like Anna Freud, make interpretations which also apply to the child's own daily experiences and conflicts; still others avoid making any interpretations that go beyond those that the child himself is ready to make. Those who advise caution in interpretation believe that premature interpretation may increase the child's anxiety and make him want to withdraw from the play situation.

Interpretation depends upon observation. The effective observer watches intently. He assumes that everything is important; he is not influenced by his own preconceptions or "pet" theories. Unless the client is shy about having notes taken, the observer should make a complete running record. Immediately after the play session he should jot down any interpretations that have occurred to him. In general, he will note the child's general interest in the toys he selects, what he does with them, what he says while playing, and what his relation to the examiner seems to be.

Interpretation also depends on a knowledge of the kind of responses that are usually made by normal children of a given age. A child three, four, or five years old who gets angry at the baby or expresses fantasies about hurting or "killing" a parent should not be characterized as neurotic. Even when the behavior is extreme, compulsive, and inflexible, the worker should first try to understand what it means to the individual.

Many articles deal with different aspects of interpretation as it is used in these various technics. Liss (63) presented cases to illustrate how the child discloses unconscious feeling in dramatization through puppets, drawings and rhythms, and the use of literary forms. The "spatial configurations" revealed in play situations were concretely illustrated by Homburger (50) by means of the play constructions of college students. Despert (22) compared the use of drawings, both spontaneous and supervised, with other methods for the study and treatment of emotional problems in children; he found evidences of regression to earlier developmental levels in the drawings of psychotic children but not in those of neurotic children or behavior problems. One method of eliciting and analyzing drawings from psychotic patients was described by Schube, Purcell, and Cowell (94). A detailed description of the use of drawing as a technic for helping a neurotic child was given by Edelston (24); the article includes a case history of the child, a detailed account of the progress of the case, and samples of the drawings with their interpretation.

Reliability and validity. The reliability of certain play technics can be demonstrated quite easily. For example, Lowenfeld (64) reported a "remarkable consistency" in the type of "world" the same individual constructs in successive play sessions. Only fundamental changes in personality structure, she found, produced any essential change in the world pictures constructed by the children. In finger painting more variation may be expected, since each painting reflects to some extent the person's mood of the moment. Napoli (76) recommended collecting at least eight paintings as a basis for partially understanding a subject's personality.

Few attempts to evaluate the results of play therapy have been reported. Evaluation is difficult, because, as we have already mentioned, the success of play technics depends a great deal on environmental conditions. Rucker found that "over half of the children rated successful or improved [at discharge] came from homes in which there was some affection for them" (90:128). Each of the unsuccessful cases came from homes where they received little, if any, affection. It seems that a child who has been loved is better able to form a relation with the worker, who, in turn, can use this relationship to help the child overcome the obstacles in his inner and outer environments.

Gitelson (35) used as the main criterion of successful therapy, reports, made by parents, guardians, or teachers, of changes in the status of the manifest behavior problem. Another criterion was "internal evidence" of change in the play sessions from initial reactions of apathy, aggressive behavior, and the like, to more favorable behavior such as a "warmer" attitude toward the therapist, decrease of anxiety, the appearance of creative and constructive fantasy, and "progressive development in the acting out of the problem oriented toward some intrapsychic solution" (35:470). Of the forty cases in this study, thirteen were considered to be "much improved"; eleven, significantly improved; and sixteen, unimproved. Fifteen of the improved cases had received collateral treatment such as placement in a foster home, psychiatric treatment of the mother, or therapeutic work with brothers and sisters.

Hay (44) followed up one case in which a speech handicap seemed to be more important as a symptom than the theft and truancy for which the case was referred. Two years after treatment he found the client's adjustment "improved to an astounding degree" (44:211). During the period following the play therapy, only one truancy had occurred, and the child could now be trusted with money. The use of play therapy with a ten-year-old child referred as a "psychogenic reading difficulty" was reported in detail by Bixler (11). As evidence of the success of the treatment, he noted that the child's grades had improved, and that his

mother said his more serious problems, manifested at home, had disappeared.

Comparison of children's behavior in the play interview with their behavior in the classroom and as reported on school records is a valuable kind of information (52), even though a close correspondence does not necessarily indicate the validity of the play technic. In fact, children who are markedly aggressive at school and at home may not be aggressive in the play situation because they have no pent-up hostility to express; children who must repress their hostility at home and at school frequently break out into violent, destructive behavior in the permissive atmosphere of the play situation. Obviously, general conclusions as to the efficacy of play technics cannot be drawn from this small number of cases with their partial analysis and follow-up; however, they represent one type of research that is needed to verify impressions of the value of play therapy.

Values of play technics. Play technics have both diagnostic and therapeutic values. These may be summarized as follows:

1. Affording the child a natural way to deal with life.
2. Giving him a form of communication in which he may reveal his attitudes, conflicts, innermost thoughts, and needs.
3. Providing the child a "bridge of contact" with the therapist—a relationship in which he feels free to talk about his feelings and realizes that he will not be blamed or punished for feeling as he does; he will, however, be restrained from doing anything that will cause him to feel guilty later.
4. Enabling the child to clarify his feelings about himself and others through the therapist's responses to the underlying meaning of his actions or words.
5. Releasing tension through the expression of hostility.
6. Relieving unjustified feelings of guilt; decreasing anxiety and fear by enabling the child to face and become familiar with the situations that have given rise to his anxiety.
7. Helping the child to learn to confront reality and to adjust more successfully to life situations.
8. Stimulating creative expression and self-expression.

From the standpoint of the worker, play technics may be used to establish a friendly relation. The play situation eliminates the embarrassment, the strain, the anxiety, the insecurity that children often feel in the purely conversational approach. It is easy and natural to initiate conversation in the play situation. Children tend to talk freely and need only the assurance that they are being understood—assurance which the worker provides by accurately reflecting their feelings.

Therapists working with forty children of preschool and elementary school age stated their aims as follows:

1. To decrease the feeling of being exceptional or irretrievably bad.
2. To introduce an attitude of self-tolerance with regard to the anxiety arising out of the hostile, aggressive tendencies, and to attempt to make some of these tendencies appear to have a natural sanction out of the situations in which they arose.
3. To convey to the patient the fact that the intensity of his difficulties was appreciated though they might not at the moment be understood.
4. To supply some lacking information when the anxiety came from obvious ignorance.
5. To clarify where possible, conflictual relationships in the immediate life situation.
6. To point the way to compromises with realities which were inevitable.
7. Finally, in some cases, as made possible for the therapists through consultation with the consultant, to attempt to deal with specific conflicts which had come to the surface (35:474-75).

Play may also pave the way for a psychological examination. With small children the test may be embedded in the play activities; it may be just another game the child plays with the examiner.

The value of the specific technic varies with the age of the person. For example, with very young children, finger painting is primarily useful as "a motor outlet for emotions," and the paintings may bear little relation to the thoughts, wishes, and behavior of the child in life situations (2). Older persons may gain insight into their emotional problems by looking over and interpreting their finger paintings (26). A series of finger paintings made by a person over a period of time provides an "objective record" of his emotional development (2, 26).

Cautions in the use of play technics. A number of possible dangers should be recognized. There is danger of increasing a child's anxiety and insecurity by allowing unlimited freedom in the play situation. If he goes too far, reveals more than he feels is right and proper, releases too much hostility before the accepting relationship with the therapist is fully established, he will be more disturbed than helped by the experience. It is difficult for the worker to know exactly how fully a child can live through a certain emotional situation without experiencing increased conflict. The danger of increasing the child's conflict depends upon the intensity of his feelings of guilt, the quality of his relationship with the therapist, and the distance between the object of aggression in the play situation and the object of aggression in real life. For example, a child's feelings in burning or smashing a doll that represents a baby brother are more intense than the feelings aroused by breaking balloons or smearing cold cream over everything in sight. Children need limits.

It is unrealistic to allow a child to injure himself, the therapist, or the room. For that reason, the therapist, either in the beginning or during the course of treatment, should make clear the "limitations that are necessary to anchor the therapy to the world of reality and to make the child aware of his responsibility in the relationship" (3:75-76).

Another difficulty in play therapy lies in the therapist's interpretation of the client's behavior and feeling. He may tend either to stereotype the behavior or to read into it more than is there. For example, workers frequently make stereotyped psychoanalytic interpretations instead of trying to find out what the play meant to the child. To observe, reflect, and interpret helpfully requires a knowledge of the dynamics of personality plus a great deal of evaluated experience.

From clinic to classroom and club. Although the subtle aspects of play therapy must be left to the highly trained person, the teacher may use play as an outlet for many undesirable tendencies. Sawing or chopping wood, constructing and remodeling, hammering, digging, wrestling with natural forces are excellent play activities for an aggressive child. Success in games that do not require special qualifications is good for children who cannot achieve marked success along other lines; if expected to engage only in games requiring skill, such a child may frequently experience frustration even in play. Cowboy games and "cops and robbers" offer some children an outlet for their suppressed desires to be in a position of power and authority. Play, of course, is not the same as play therapy. However, an acquaintance with play technics would increase the significance of teachers' observation of children engaged in appropriate play activities.

Wider Application of the Projective Method

The projective method in general may be applied to many kinds of media in everyday situations, as well as in clinics. For example, Sims (97) described the application of the projective method to essay examinations. The first step is to select a medium that permits a relatively free, extended, and personal response; that presents to the student a new situation for which he has no ready-made responses; and that emphasizes the process rather than the product. The individual's responses in this situation are carefully observed and their dynamic quality is studied. With this kind of evidence the counselor may better understand the strivings, conflicts, motives, and attitudes that are causing certain behavior.

CHAPTER VII

Cumulative Personnel Records

Cumulative personnel records are an outward and visible sign of the school's desire to understand the individual student. They are one test of whether the school has the personnel point of view. The items on them indicate the school's emphases: whether it stresses academic marks, attendance, test results; personality trends, family background, experiences outside of classes; or goals, purposes, and plans for the future.

Records also reflect the general philosophy and psychology of the institution as a whole, and of the student personnel program in particular. For example, a behaviorist would be content with a record of objective, separate facts. A Gestalt psychologist would insist upon having records that show dominant characteristics against a background; he would seek a personality pattern, which would be somewhat vaguely defined at the beginning of the study but would become more distinct and detailed as the study proceeds. A psychologist of another school would be interested not so much in the observed behavior as in its meaning to the individual and in its underlying motivation. Indeed, as the dynamics of personality have been increasingly emphasized, records have included more space for descriptive summaries.

Reasons for Keeping Records

Personnel records should lead to self-understanding and self-appraisal. By bringing together information collected by teachers, counselors, principals, and others over a period of years, they give an overview and a long-term view of a person's growth toward physical, mental, emotional, and social maturity. They suggest possible causes of his present difficulty; they reveal some of his potentialities; they indicate what experiences he needs. Their *raison d'être* is suggested by this ques-

tion: What types of records do you think would be most likely to throw light upon desirable changes in student behavior? The word *desirable* implies reference to educational objectives; the word *changes* implies growth.

Kept over a period of years, such records give continuity to guidance. In a ten-point guidance program set up for the Indianapolis public high schools, the first and most important point mentioned was cumulative records (24).

The Ideal Record

The ideal personnel record is a unified developmental picture of the individual. It shows personality patterns and trends; it is not a collection of unrelated bits of information. From it the counselor should be able to get an impression of the interrelated aspects of a student's life, and of his progress toward maturity from kindergarten through college.

The ideal record is dynamic and vivid. It gives the counselor a glimpse of a real live person. It takes account of his changing status. This dynamic quality is best achieved by means of recorded observations of the student in action, samples of his work, records of his special achievements, and biographical and interview data.

The ideal record is a ready source of verifiable information about every student. It prevents unnecessary inquiries and errors of memory. It supplies, in a form convenient for counseling, the information needed by those who work with students.

Important Information to Record

Items for the cumulative personnel record have been selected in five ways: (1) by analyzing educational objectives with respect to the personal data needed for their realization, (2) by finding how frequently certain items occur on records now in use, (3) by obtaining expert judgment from individuals or a group as to the relative value of different items, (4) by studying statistically the relation between ratings on given items and scholastic success, and (5) by doing research which throws light on the meaning of certain items of information.

Analysis of educational objectives is a first step in selecting items to include (41, 54). Among the recognized objectives of education are the basic intellectual skills such as written and oral expression, reading, and arithmetic; health; personality traits such as co-operation, curiosity, creativeness, independence, open-mindedness, and leadership; and interests and leisure activities that are varied, permanent, and constructive. With these, the ideal record is concerned. It will pay fully as much

attention to the best potentialities in every person as to problems of adjustment (30).

The second basis for selecting items is their frequency of occurrence on existing records. The National Committee on Cumulative Records examined 2,515 cumulative records used in city and county schools and proposed a list of twelve kinds of personal data on the assumption that the items most frequently included are the most useful (39). A number of less recent surveys (2, 15, 19, 22, 26, 29, 40, 48) have been made on all educational levels.

For example, in a survey of present practice with respect to cumulative records, published in 1941, Leonard and Tucker (26) reported that more than three fourths of the 870 high schools surveyed recorded regularly certain personal data, teachers' marks, attendance records, and intelligence test scores. Less than half the schools recorded regularly other items concerning pupils' personality, interests, home and family conditions, out-of-school activities, and teachers' observation. The records were available to the teachers, including the homeroom teachers, in only about one half of the schools. Very few schools sent cumulative-record data to any employment office or agency. On the college level in 1942 a survey (40) was made of the permanent record forms used by eighty-five Pacific Coast colleges, and the items included were analyzed. Mort and Stuart (29) went a step further; they submitted record forms to teachers and asked for their critical evaluations of these forms after they had used them. Tansil (48) and Allen (2) obtained evidence of the actual use of records by having persons who used a student's record sign a slip attached to each record.

A study of the information requested by employers and by admissions officers is almost as valuable as a study of school and college records. Business and industrial interview schedules and rating scales, and transcripts requested by higher institutions, suggest items that should be included on the school personnel record if it is to be most helpful for recommendation and placement purposes.

The method of submitting a list of items to selected judges for their evaluation may be illustrated by Franzen's summary (16) of the opinions of almost two thousand high school principals. This group agreed on the importance of scholarship and personal data and were favorably inclined toward information about extracurricular activities, intelligence quotient, and rank in class. Another group of high school principals (22) attached greatest importance to records of intelligence and school achievement. This jury method of determining the significance of items, however, is generally in disrepute for two main reasons: the variability of judgments resulting when many individuals with different educational

objectives consider the matter from their own points of view, and the inaccuracy of judgments arising from lack of evidence.

Research which helps the personnel worker to understand the meaning of the various items of information contained in records has been summarized in the second volume of this series (45). There has been a great deal of work on the relationships among teachers' marks and intelligence and achievement test scores; considerable research on social and economic background; extensive study of personality traits; and less study of the significance of participation in extracurricular activities. A knowledge of the results of previous investigations helps the personnel worker to direct his attention to items of importance in individual development.

The method of item analysis may be illustrated by the careful, systematic study carried on over a number of years by Pallett at the University of Oregon and by Clark at Northwestern University (32). The student's scholastic record is the criterion against which the items on the record forms are most frequently validated (49).

All of these kinds of studies give the personnel worker and his committees of teachers a sounder basis for selecting items to record. The following composite list includes items recommended in several sources (15, 33, 39, 44, 46, 50, 53):

1. Personal data: name, date of birth, evidence of birth, place of birth, sex, color or race, residence of pupil and/or parents.
2. Home and community background: name, marital status, birth-place, and occupation of parents or guardians, whether parents are alive or deceased, persons with whom pupil lives, language spoken in the home, number of brothers and sisters, ratings of home environment and economic status.
3. Scholarship: teachers' marks by year and subject, special reports on failures, record of reading achievement, rank in graduating class (with number in class), notes on the student's attitudes, the questions he asks, the quality of his thinking when solving problems, his work habits and ways of learning, his skills and satisfactions in handwork and the creative arts, samples of his creative art work. This kind of information gives important clues as to the nature of the student's learning process, as well as indications of his interests and antipathies and of his likelihood of success in a given course of study. It is also useful in vocational guidance.
4. Test scores and ratings, accompanied by an interpretation by the psychologist which takes into account both the conditions under which they were made and the student's previous experiences. This interpretation helps to make the figures meaningful to all the persons who use the records.

5. School attendance: days present or absent each year. A poor attendance record suggests a study of the student's health, the suitability of the curriculum, home pressure, and other factors.
6. Health: physical disabilities, emotional adjustment, vaccination record, other items which the physician thinks are important for the school to know; the student's attitude toward his health problems and what he is doing about them; his energy output—ability to do sustained work.
7. Anecdotal records, personality ratings, autobiographical sketches, reports of interviews and conferences with parents. These descriptive records call attention to the unique aspects of each student's personality and to unusual conditions that are or have been influencing his life; they show how he views and deals with his environment; they define the situations in which he is happy and successful, or the opposite. Most cumulative records include some form of personality rating. On the more than one hundred records examined by Maas (27), one hundred different personality traits were included. Those mentioned most frequently were co-operation, industry, reliability, leadership, dependability, accuracy, and emotional control. The record reproduced on page 67 represents some of the best features of rating scales: the items selected for rating are not too numerous and are significant for personality development; they are stated in terms of behavior that teachers and counselors can observe; the rating of each teacher is shown by a different symbol and color; the ratings are made on a separate slip by each teacher who has had a chance to observe the student during the year. Teachers need more help in learning to observe students and to summarize their observations accurately on rating scales. In the majority of schools the personality ratings are practically worthless because the scales are poorly constructed, there are too many items to be rated, teachers have no chance to observe certain characteristics and little or no training in observation. In formal classes teachers can rate most easily the students' methods of work, rate of work, and responses to difficulty or failure. They have more difficulty in rating students' relationships with others, their co-operation, and other characteristics that require group interaction.
8. Employment record during school years.
9. Vocational and educational plans. This record should show the student's tentative course of study for the three or four years ahead and should note whether he is meeting graduation requirements and

the requirements of his chosen college, if he is planning to go to college.

10. The student's own statement, year by year, of his changing values, goals, and purposes.
11. Extracurricular activities, hobbies, special talents. These indicate the student's interests, and show whether he is taking due advantage of informal groups, or overdoing his participation.
12. Follow-up record after the student has left school: employment and further education. Information about the student's educational and vocational career after leaving the school is an aid both in continued counseling of the individual and in modifying school procedures in light of the experiences of those who have recently left it.
13. Record of the accomplishments of the class group to which the individual belongs (43:518-23).
14. Reports of faculty conferences about the student.

This list may be used to answer the question: What do other persons consider important items to include on a cumulative record form? It may serve either as a starting point or as a final check for any group that is working on the improvement of a school's personnel records. The problem of selecting the most useful items is of primary importance. One item on a record card may mean the making of a thousand entries by a well-paid clerk. From the standpoint of cost alone, it is important to reduce to minimum essentials the number of items on a cumulative record. Three criteria may be applied in determining which items are essential: conformity to sound educational objectives, success in showing trends in development, and usefulness in work with students. Records should supply in convenient form the information counselors, teachers, and administrators need.

Forms of Cumulative Personnel Records

The cumulative personnel record holds a central place in the school or college record system. Many other records contribute information to the personnel record, which, in turn, facilitates the filling out of application blanks and other forms, and the writing of reports to parents.

Surveys of record systems show variation in the kinds of records kept by different institutions. The National Committee on Cumulative Records (39) reported that approximately one-third of the cities and counties had a combined elementary and secondary school record system; the others kept separate records for the two levels. Maas (27), in his study of over one hundred record forms and record-keeping practices in thirty-five school systems, found that the forms usually covered a six-year

period and were becoming more comprehensive. The most common sizes were $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 11 inches (standard typewriting paper size) and 5 by 8 inches (for open-file drawer).

Cumulative personnel records have many forms: the cumulative record folder, the cumulative record card folder, the single card record, the envelope containing three or more cumulative record cards, the still more detailed omnibus-type record that brings together information from various sources, and the clinical case-history-type record. In general, the combination of a record card supplemented by a folder or envelope is preferable because it gives the counselor both quantitative objective facts and the more concrete, descriptive, and unique information about the individual.

CUMULATIVE RECORD FOLDERS AND CARDS

The information contained in the folder constitutes vivid and concrete, though fragmentary, evidence of the student's development, collected during his school years (9, 46). Its core consists of the periodic summaries of this detailed information. Taken individually, the separate items gathered from many sources may not have high reliability; but viewed and evaluated as a whole, they give a valuable total impression. The most useful summary describes "where the student is going and how he intends to get there." However, it must be considered tentative so that it will not prematurely crystallize one's expectations of the student. The cumulative record folder has the special advantages of being easily expanded from simple beginnings, and of requiring little clerical work and knowledge of statistics. It does, however, require much skill in the observation and interpretation of behavior.

The initial work on the widely used *American Council Cumulative Record Card*¹ was described in detail in the July, 1928, issue of the *Educational Record Supplement* (34:12-52). In an article prepared for the Committee, Ben D. Wood presented the basic philosophy of the cumulative record and described and illustrated the record card. This record is

intended to give a fairly complete and meaningful *outline* of [a student's] educational achievements, both curricular and extra-curricular, plus general indices of, or guides to, other significant types of information that should be taken into account before any crucial decisions are made respecting a given case (34:15).

According to this statement, the cumulative record may include descriptive accounts of behavior and other detailed information about the student.

¹ Samples may be obtained from the American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.

The *American Council Cumulative Record Forms* for colleges and secondary schools have also been widely used. In 1933, Robertson (37) reported the use of these cards in 236 institutions, as indicated by the amounts purchased:

	<i>In College</i>	<i>In Secondary School</i>
1928.....	18,250	1,100
1929.....	26,077	24,040
1930.....	17,974	21,389
1931.....	12,329	10,353
1932.....	10,670	10,398

Unpublished figures for 1947 show a tremendous increase in their use:

	<i>In College</i>	<i>In Secondary School</i> (Junior and Senior H. S.)
1947.....	44,337	24,249

The main criticisms of the original American Council cumulative records were that they were too intricate, did not show dynamic patterns of personality, and focused attention too exclusively on diagnosis. It is true that persons with no statistical training tended to shy away from the "gridiron" graphic record, and that even experienced personnel workers had difficulty in extracting quickly from the network of lines the specific information they needed in conferences with parents and students. For these reasons, which were supported by experimentation, a simple tabulation of scholastic achievement was substituted for the graphic form in the revised American Council record.

The *American Council Cumulative Record Forms* represent a more advanced stage in the study of the individual than many educational institutions have yet attained. Gardner (19) found that their use was associated with general institutional excellence. He characterized the American Council cumulative record card as "the most utilizable, concise and complete nonacademic record available" (19:57). These forms have extended the scope of records, increased the awareness of the need for them, and emphasized their value. Every item on the American Council record is of value in the guidance of individuals. The scores on intelligence tests indicate the individual's general level of mental ability as measured by his responses to a variety of test stimuli over a period of years. The achievement test scores show his progress in history, English, French, and other subjects. The cumulative record card, moreover,

shows the individual's position in relation to his local group and to country-wide averages. Such comparative information is necessary in order to help a student make a good adjustment to his present group and choose a higher institution in which he will be likely to succeed. All the other details regarding extracurricular activities, health, interests, etc., are similarly useful in advisory work. The only question is whether the items so recorded at considerable expense are as valuable as more detailed descriptions of behavior, samples of work, and other information assembled in a folder without any transcribing, and summarized from time to time into a unified and dynamic description of the individual. The combination of the more objective verifiable data on the cumulative record card plus the more detailed descriptive data in a supplementary folder would give the most adequate basis for understanding an individual.

The *American Council Cumulative Record Forms* have been discussed at some length because they represent many years of critical study and evaluation by a very able group of persons. They are now available in four forms: for Grades 1, 2, and 3; for Grades 4, 5, and 6; for junior and senior high schools; and for colleges. The *Manual for Cumulative Records* that accompanies these forms (3) is in itself an important contribution to the theory and use of cumulative records.

Many schools and colleges have patterned their own cumulative record folders after the American Council form. The sample record folder facing this page (partially filled out, as most cumulative records are!) is one of the best examples of this kind of record, as it has been developed by many school systems. Another record folder was developed by a school staff who wanted to begin simply by describing concretely the unique and central characteristics of their students. It consisted mostly of blank spaces. Although it looks simple, it is probably somewhat difficult to keep; more psychological background is needed to recognize the dynamic factors in a student's personality than to record specified data of a quantitative and fairly objective nature.

The National Association of Secondary-School Principals (5, 12) has developed several forms,² which are used in many schools, colleges, and personnel offices. One is a transcript which embodies the personality rating, marks in each subject, test results, and rank in class. These are items which admissions officers in higher institutions request from secondary schools. Many colleges and universities will accept this transfer certificate in place of their own form.

The second form is a one-page personality rating scale to be filled out

² Samples of each form at 5 cents a copy may be obtained from the National Association of Secondary-School Principals, 1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

by teachers. The items to be rated are: seriousness of purpose, industry, initiative, influence, concern for others, responsibility, and emotional stability. It has additional space for the recording of school activities, special interests and abilities, significant limitations, and additional information and recommendations the principal may wish to add.

The cumulative record developed by a committee of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals is published in three forms: a single card, 9 by 11½ inches; a folder, 9½ by 11¾ inches; and an envelope of the same size opening on one side. In addition to the usual personnel data, these forms include a space for "guidance notes." Beginning with the seventh grade, they provide space for seven years' entries. A 5 by 8 inch permanent record card makes possible the transfer of essential data for ten semesters.

OTHER TYPES OF PERSONNEL RECORDS USED IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

Other useful occupational adjustment and placement forms are also published by the National Association of Secondary-School Principals. The *Post-School Inventory* is a form to be filled out by former students one or more years after they have left school. The *Follow-Up Interview Schedule* is used to obtain a young person's appraisal of his job situation and his further vocational plans. The *Employer Interviewing Schedule* is for the purpose of learning from the employer how well the youth has adjusted to his job and how the school can more effectively prepare other boys and girls for their work. The *Follow-Up Record Card* is a special cumulative record card for post-school counseling; it includes school and home background data collected during school years plus the person's post-school occupational history.

Records may take various and unique forms such as a collection of cards, a personal information blank, or an omnibus-type folder of entrance data, correspondence, and other information. A school system in Michigan (21) experimented with 4 by 6 inch cards on which anecdotal records for each pupil were entered. Each teacher in grades one through twelve was expected to make out one card for each pupil. A high school senior who had spent his entire educational career in this system would thus have accumulated approximately fifty cards. The teachers were given a guide to direct their attention to certain kinds of behavior. Despite instructions to write anecdotal records as they observed typical or exceptional behavior, teachers tended to wait until the end of the term to write summaries of their pupils' progress.

At the State University of Iowa a personal information blank (49) was used and evaluated. It included identification data, a two-hundred-word theme written by the student, and information on previous school

achievement, family and home circumstances, and personal activities. This blank was subjected to statistical analysis with the following results: (1) Almost half of the items had a reliability of 0.80 or above, fully two thirds a reliability of 0.70 or above, and 9 per cent a reliability of 0.59 or less. (2) As a means of predicting scholarship, the value of the information was negligible; the highest correlation with grade-point averages the first semester was 0.39. (3) The personal information score had little more predictive value, if any, than the placement tests used at the university, although the reliability of most of the items was high.

At Allegheny College, Pennsylvania (38), preregistration data are put in the cumulative record folder. These comprise the high school record including ratings and statements of principals and teachers, the application blank, results of the American Council on Education psychological and vocabulary tests, and all data obtained during freshman week. Other entries are made as the student goes through college. He is encouraged to study and interpret his own cumulative record with the help of the dean.

The omnibus-type record may include questionnaires filled out by students about their interests, hobbies, goals, work experience, and other activities (10). Autobiographies and dated samples of the student's work give vitality and a student-centered approach to these records. The personnel records kept for prospective teachers at New College, Teachers College, some years ago included the following information:

1. Entrance data, including the application for admittance, records of the interview with the prospective student, general information and statements made by the applicant, his personal qualifications, health record, and a transcript of his school record.
2. Correspondence with parents and teachers relating to the student.
3. The health record, including the medical examination record sent by the student and the records of observations of the physical, emotional, and social aspects of his health.
4. The long-view plan for the student, including a statement of his problems, needs, and goals as seen by teachers and the student in conference. This proposed plan was reconsidered every three months.
5. Scholastic activities record.
6. The record of the student's teaching contacts, the plan and report of his teaching activities, and observations of his teaching.
7. Results of standardized tests—the *Co-operative General Culture Test*, a comprehensive general intelligence examination, a reading test, the *Co-operative Achievement Test*, and the *College Research English Test*.

8. Cumulative summary record.
9. Personal data record.
10. Special activities record.
11. Employment record.
12. Examples of the student's work.
13. Evidence of his eligibility for internship, and correspondence on this matter.
14. Internship problem and examination.
15. Placement record.

This system of records represents one of the most detailed and comprehensive types of personnel record. It supplies a wealth of information, but presents a real problem of evaluation. It is difficult and time consuming, though by no means impossible, to study such a mass of evidence and to gain from it an accurate and useful understanding of the individual student.

CLINICAL RECORDS

Records kept in child guidance or mental hygiene clinics are more comprehensive than those kept in school. They delve more deeply into conditions causing maladjustment in individual cases. A description and discussion of clinical records is to be found in Clark's *Recording and Reporting for Child Guidance Clinics* (7) and in Maslow's article (28) on the value of adequate records, as close to verbatim as possible for both service and research purposes.

Little research has been done on the best form of records (11). Theoretically, records should have clarity, brevity, and integration—clarity so that the ordinary faculty member will understand them; brevity so that he will use the contents; and, above all, integration so that the record will present a dynamic picture of the individual in his environment.

Criteria for Judging Personnel Records

Personnel workers should pause in their day's occupation to check their records against the following standards, many of which were formulated by Wood in 1928 (34) and more recently by Allen (2):

1. Personnel records should consist of items relevant to the all-round development of the student—his attitudes, habits, and, in short, all pertinent aspects of his personality.
2. They should be organized as a growth record—show trends in the individual's development, not merely a cross section of his personality; a person is too complex an entity for one to risk an interpre-

tation of his past or a prediction of his future on the basis of one snapshot.

3. They should be so vivid and dynamic that they will surely be used in the guidance of students. They should include descriptions of day-by-day behavior and give clues as to the reasons for it.
4. They should record results of tests and observation in a form that is truly comparative and meaningful.
5. The detailed records should be summarized and interpreted by persons who know the students and have had a large part in the collection of the data.
6. They should be convenient to file.
7. They should involve a minimum of clerical work.
8. They should be easily read. Records that are intricate and crowded with lines and writing are difficult to keep and to interpret.
9. They should be reproducible, inexpensively and accurately.
10. They should be kept for every student, not for problem cases only.
11. They should be available to all who can use them for the good of the student. A central file has proved satisfactory in many situations. However, one of the most persistent and puzzling problems in the whole administration of personnel work remains that of getting the information out of the file and into the minds of those who come in contact with the students.

Confidentialness of Records

Certain records are available to the general public, others to the faculty, still others to committees, and a few are so confidential that they are kept in the hands of a professionally trained personnel worker.

The matter of disclosing information about a student has both ethical and psychological aspects. To betray confidences under any circumstance is unethical. To crystallize any particular cross section of an individual's behavior is psychologically unsound, because a student may reach another stage of development which makes the former characterization inaccurate. Moreover, non-academic records often have the inaccuracy of subjectivity—insofar as they express the attitude of the person writing them—and also the errors arising from superficiality and partial knowledge of the whole situation. Unfortunately, some persons are so influenced by such records that they are unable to see the individual as he now is. They use intelligence quotients and other specific information merely to confirm their generalized prejudices. For these reasons, some personnel workers recommend that records of school progress, of test results, and of medical examinations be permanent and cumulative,

while records of personality or behavior be used only as long as they are strictly applicable, and periodically destroyed (13:489).

These difficulties create a serious dilemma for the personnel worker. On one side is the danger of divulging confidential material and information that may be misinterpreted and misused; on the other side is the risk of failing to make available information that might aid in the student's adjustment. Moreover, the personnel worker's loyalty to the student sometimes seems to conflict with his sense of obligation to a prospective employer or to an institution to which the student is applying for admission.

Because of the difficulty of knowing who will use the records, no confidential information should be accessible in a central open file where it might be misinterpreted or misused. If important confidential material has been obtained, the name of the person who has the information, and not the information itself, may be put in the central file. Another device for keeping certain information confidential is for the personnel worker to make a notation that will enable him to recall a certain circumstance, but that will reveal none of the details to any unsympathetic person. One cumulative record folder has three letters in the upper righthand corner, which can be encircled to show the persons from whom additional details may be obtained. Another method of using confidential information safely is to translate it into a positive recommendation.

Uses of Cumulative Personnel Records

Personnel records must first of all be usable (51). It is a waste of time for a personnel worker to write records which are never used. The problem of personnel records is not solved when a satisfactory form is developed, nor even when ways and means of collecting the desired information are provided. There remains the task of using the records in the guidance of students. It is precisely at this point that many record systems fail.

The following are some of the many uses of cumulative personnel records:

GUIDING STUDENT DEVELOPMENT

Self-appraisal and self-guidance are the most important uses of cumulative records. A record kept year by year may be used to show the student the trends in his many-sided development; it may give both student and counselor a sense of growth. It contains facts about his abilities and achievement, his interests, his physical equipment, the way he impresses teachers in different situations, the kind of work and play he can do best and with the greatest satisfaction. Through the systematic periodic

appraisal, made jointly by student and counselor, the student should come to an acceptance of himself and an appreciation of both his strengths and his limitations. Thus the cumulative record may aid him in building a concept of his most acceptable and attainable self. The record may go further; it may suggest experiences the student needs for his best all-round development, and so help him to grow toward objectives appropriate for him.

IDENTIFYING TALENT

The cumulative record is an aid in the search for talent. It helps teachers to recognize students who are gifted in abstract verbal ability, science, the arts, and social relations. Having identified these students, the school will feel responsible for meeting their needs, and will thus prevent their drifting, wasting time, and working far below their capacity. Similarly, other kinds of exceptional children can be identified and helped to develop their best potentialities. Records may be used to encourage the slow learner as well as to stimulate the gifted. Evidences of growth in the cumulative record will convince students of both types that they are making progress.

DETECTING AND PREVENTING INCIPIENT MALADJUSTMENT

Using cumulative records at the beginning of the school year helps teachers to get acquainted with students more quickly, and calls their attention to those who need special help. The record often raises the question, "Why?" It sends the counselor searching for explanations of certain conditions, which it indicates. By means of a periodic study of the records during the school year, the counselor may detect in their early stages problems involving health, emotional, educational, and social difficulties. Clues to maladjustment may be present in a discrepancy between intelligence test results and school achievement, a slump in academic work, frequent absence, misbehavior, nonparticipation in informal groups or creative activities, or in educational and vocational plans that seem inappropriate in light of all the other information about the individual.

DEALING WITH PERSONAL PROBLEMS AND CRISES

Records have been most widely used when problems and crises have arisen. From the record, student and counselor may obtain perspective on a problem and clues as to conditions giving rise to it. For example, if a student is failing in his academic work, the records often yield indications of the conditions contributing to the failure. The cumulative record gives the counselor a broad view of the student; he sees him

through other persons' eyes in various situations, and, if autobiographical data are included, through the student's own eyes. With this background of understanding as a starting point, the counselor is better equipped to help the student work out a solution and make a wise decision. He feels more free to listen to the student, and is better prepared to reflect and interpret his feelings.

MAKING EDUCATIONAL, VOCATIONAL, AND RECREATIONAL PLANS

In planning a course of study, changing a program, thinking about leaving school, choosing a college of some other kind of further education, and choosing and preparing for a vocation, the student should consider with his counselor all the information on his cumulative record. The cumulative record passed on from another school helps the counselor to place the transfer student in the groups most suitable for him. Facts about his scholastic aptitude, achievement in each subject, rank in class, the socioeconomic status of his family, and his own goals, purposes, and post-high school plans are all essential in answering the questions: Should I go to college? If so, to which college? If not, what other kinds of suitable educational opportunities are available?

The cumulative record is also useful in helping students to plan their leisure-time programs. The decision to do part-time work, to join a certain club, or otherwise to use one's twenty-four hours to good advantage can best be made when all the facts on the cumulative record are considered. Cumulative records aid the counseling process by substituting facts for guesswork, recorded trends for scattered memories.

HOLDING CASE CONFERENCES AND CONFERENCES WITH PARENTS

Cumulative records serve as a starting point for the case conference. After the counselor has summarized all available information, the persons present pool and interpret their information about an individual student and then make recommendations. The case conference is a learning experience for all who participate. It provides practice and instruction in interpreting test results and other personal data, in synthesizing separate facts into a dynamic picture of the individual, and in the creative task of providing experiences the student needs.

In parent conferences, cumulative records make the child's progress or lack of it more understandable to the parent. They supply facts that are basic to sound, realistic educational and vocational plans. Such conferences, incidentally, are preferred by many parents and teachers to the older forms of reporting; they help parents to gain a better understanding of the child and the school, and of conditions conducive to his progress (8).

WRITING REPORTS TO PARENTS³

The cumulative record helps a teacher to write letters or descriptive reports to parents. It is obviously impossible for a teacher to prepare this type of report without having a knowledge of the individual student. From the record, the teacher extracts information that may assist a parent in co-operating with the school to help the student get the most out of his school years. On the basis of all the relevant information available, the teacher writes his letter to the parents, commenting on the student's progress in each subject, his personality trends, strengths that he can develop and weaknesses that he can overcome. Wrinkle (57) gave an excellent description of the evolution of reports to parents in one school system. A combination of ratings of concrete behavior relating to general objectives plus a discussion with the teacher of the specific objectives of each course seemed to give the greatest satisfaction to teachers, parents, and students (57:108-9). The report to parents is a means of educating both parents and teachers in the personnel point of view; it directs the parent's attention to important aspects of his child's development.

PLACING STUDENTS IN JOBS

If a school or college has valuable cumulative information about students, it should be used to advantage in placement. Some schools, upon the students' graduation, forward their records to the local office of the State Employment Service or file them in a central records bureau. Others file them in their own placement bureaus. Still others keep their records in the school guidance office and send summaries to the placement bureau in or outside the school. Meyers (31) recommended an Adjustment Institute to which these records would be transferred and to which students seeking employment or counseling service could go.

WRITING RECOMMENDATIONS AND MAKING REFERRALS

Cumulative records help high school counselors or principals in making accurate and helpful recommendations to prospective employers and to college admissions officers. They facilitate articulation between high school and college and between school and work. The value of cumulative records was highlighted during the war, when information about large numbers of persons was needed quickly for training and classification purposes. If the schools and the government had worked together by using the schools' cumulative records, the classification of men for varied services could have been accomplished more economically and expe-

³ This topic is merely mentioned here because it is treated in a monograph, *Reporting to Parents* (47).

ditionously (1). When individuals are referred to psychologists, psychiatrists, physicians, guidance clinics, or social agencies, information from the cumulative record facilitates treatment.

MAKING TEACHERS "CHILD CONSCIOUS"

Cumulative records direct teachers' attention to the individual student. It is impossible for a teacher-counselor to fill out a comprehensive cumulative record card without having made accurate observations or having obtained significant samples of the student's behavior. Focusing thus on child study challenges a teacher's basic philosophy of education: Which is of greater worth—a study of the individual student or group instruction? Morrison's well-known statement that "a teacher should spend half his time in studying his pupils as individuals and the rest of his time in doing what that study shows to be desirable and necessary" can be supported by a number of arguments. Among these is the experience of many teachers that individual study of their students makes instruction more effective. Beginning with the study and use of cumulative records, teachers may become interested in the entire student personnel program.

ADMINISTRATIVE USES OF RECORDS

Cumulative personnel records supply facts for reports to state, county, and local authorities. They aid in the grouping of students into classes where they can obtain the instruction most appropriate to them. When a student is transferred from one school to another, his cumulative record saves counselors' time and helps the new school to avoid mistakes and to facilitate the student's adjustment to the new situation.

IN-SERVICE EDUCATION THROUGH CUMULATIVE RECORDS

Interest in cumulative records may be the starting point for effective education of the staff in guidance procedures. Collecting data for cumulative records requires teachers to observe individual students; recording data gives teachers a sense of the many-sided aspects of their development; using records helps teachers to understand individual students and the common needs of the group. Brooks (6) described the kind of help teachers need in filling out cumulative records. In general, the education of teachers has not kept pace with the development of record forms.

EVALUATING THE SCHOOL PROGRAM

Cumulative records are a means of appraising teaching and personnel work as well as of helping the student to appraise himself. Cumulative personnel records furnish facts essential to the continuous evaluation

and modification of the objectives of education, the curriculum, instructional procedures, counseling, and extraclass or informal student activities. The effective use of cumulative records should have far-reaching effects upon education in secondary school and college. These records should encourage a cumulative and dynamic curriculum, an intrinsic part of which is self-understanding on the part of every student. The follow-up data as well as the records kept during school years indicate changes needed in the school. From follow-up records the personnel worker may learn whether his program is functioning in the lives of individual students. That is the only true measure of the success of a student personnel program.

*Recommended Procedures for Developing
a Cumulative Record System*

The development and maintenance of cumulative records is a cooperative enterprise in which administrators, special personnel workers, teachers, clerical staff, students, parents, employers, and college admissions officers should participate. Lack of conviction of the importance of such records on the part of all concerned is one reason why the cumulative record cards in so many institutions are carelessly filled in and seldom used. Absence of a professional attitude toward personnel data is one reason why the wider use of records is not encouraged by personnel workers.

Of basic importance is the principle that all personnel data must be treated professionally. This means that the person who has access to the information on cumulative records does not pass it on to irresponsible persons. The chances are that he will not use recorded facts to the detriment of the student if he takes to heart the cautions on pages 201-202.

Even the most perfect record system cannot successfully be imposed upon unreceptive and untrained teachers. It is far better to introduce one item at a time and have it used in the development and guidance of students than to antagonize teachers by installing an intricate, time-consuming record system. A gradual educative procedure was used with excellent results in the Breathitt County Guidance Program (20). One type of record—the autobiography—was introduced in the schools by a “flying squadron” of ten trained workers. Information thus obtained was filed in the schools, accessible to the teachers. At the summer guidance institute, each teacher analyzed the autobiographies of his pupils and developed a simple program of guidance for his school. This study revealed the need for more information about individual pupils. The teachers were further encouraged to use the records the following school year, when the county superintendent requested a report from the

teachers showing how they had used the autobiographies during the year. This procedure convinced the teachers of the value of personal data and aroused their interest in acquiring additional methods of understanding their pupils.

The following steps in the co-operative development of a cumulative record system are a composite of several published descriptions of procedures used in schools and colleges (17, 21, 46, 57). These steps are based on the assumption that someone with vision and knowledge is interested in the improvement of guidance and instruction through cumulative personnel records:

1. Talk with individual teachers and other members of the staff. Instead of imposing a record form upon the school system, the modern administrator helps his staff to recognize the need for cumulative information about students and to develop forms that seem to them practical and helpful.
2. Use faculty meetings for the discussion of what information teachers need to understand students, and of how it may be collected, recorded, interpreted, synthesized, and used professionally and wisely.
3. Appoint committees to carry forward the ideas formulated in faculty meetings. These committees draft tentative record forms and a manual for the guidance of teachers in recording data and in interpreting and using it. Records are most likely to be used effectively if they are evolved by the persons who are expected to use them. This requires co-operative study.
4. Provide time for teacher-counselors to record, interpret, synthesize, and use cumulative-record data in counseling. If there is a specialist in personnel work, he may assist teacher-counselors in a class conference (going over each student's record with the teacher) or in a case conference (directing the pooling and interpretation of information about each student in a conference of persons having contact with the individual).
5. Form parent-education classes and student groups so that all concerned may learn to understand and interpret the data in cumulative record folders.
6. Provide suitable files, easily accessible to the persons who should use the records most frequently.
7. Orient new teachers to the use of records in the total personnel program.

Recording and Interpreting Information on Cumulative Records

One reason why cumulative records are not used more effectively is that the information on them is so poorly recorded. Entries must be

more accurate, more care must be exercised to use words familiar to teachers, there must be clearer distinction between fact and opinion. For example, most teachers do not know what test results mean when they are recorded in percentiles or raw scores and inadequately labeled.

Teachers need instruction and practice in seeing the relationships, patterns, and trends that emerge from a study of a cumulative record. To be carefully considered, for example, are the student's past achievement in relation to his school attendance; a foreign language background in relation to reading ability, marks in school subjects, and participation in social activities; trends in marks for each subject during the years of high school; the way the student impresses different teachers. The cumulative-record data may be treated somewhat as a profile or pattern analysis. In reading the cumulative record, the student and the counselor can look for recurring clues, patterns, and relationships.

Variations in the interpretation of records may arise from differences in the counselors' backgrounds and philosophies. For example, one counselor may seek the explanation of low school achievement in home conditions, another in physical defects, and still another in intelligence test results. It would be far more desirable for each to view the record as a whole in order to determine complex causations.

There is increasing emphasis on pupil participation in the keeping and using of records. If records are to have their greatest value, the student should share in keeping and using them to understand himself and to make appropriate life plans. He may himself select items from the record to serve as immediate concrete objectives toward which to strive. The client-centered philosophy shifts responsibility for the use of records from the counselor to the counselee. If this philosophy were translated into practice, it would revolutionize present procedures in the use of personnel records and would prevent the counselor from becoming "information centered." Instead of the counselor's being solely responsible for using the records, the student would share this responsibility whenever he feels a need for objective data about himself.

Cost of Records

Published cumulative record cards cost about five cents each. The cost of the *American Council Revised Cumulative Record Folders* for the various grade levels are six cents each; directions for use, five cents; manual for all folders, thirty cents. A specimen set for each grade level costs fifteen cents. The folders published by the National Association of Secondary-School Principals cost \$.05 each, \$4.50 per hundred when 500-999 copies are purchased, and \$4.00 per hundred when the order is for 1,000 or more copies. In some situations, records developed by the

staff have been printed by the school printing shop; this costs very little and gives satisfaction to the students who make this contribution to the school.

A duplicator which costs from one to two thousand dollars quickly makes copies of records 10 by 11 inches at about two cents each. Hand copying may cost as much as one dollar per student when clerical help is obtained at \$.75 to \$1.00 an hour. The expense of a record should be considered with reference to its service. Any record that is not fully and skillfully used is an expensive record.

Precautions to Take in the Use of Cumulative Records

Anyone who uses cumulative records should guard against certain tendencies. The first is to generalize from single items such as an intelligence quotient, an anecdotal record, a low mark in a subject, a personality rating, or the fact of nationality, race, or religion. It is so easy to assume a stereotype and say, for example, "Italian girls are like that." The personnel worker should take an objective, open-minded attitude and a creative approach to cumulative-record data.

The second tendency is to assume that the past always predicts the present—that because the student showed certain interests and behavior during past years, he is sure to be like that now. While it is desirable to recognize that the present has grown out of the past, behavior trends can nevertheless be modified. This view prevents the counselor from taking a fatalistic attitude toward any student.

A third tendency is for teachers to use facts from the cumulative records to justify their own prejudice or inaction—"How can I teach him anything when he has such a low IQ?"

A fourth is to fail to recognize that the bias or misunderstanding of the person responsible for it may influence a subjective entry. The entry often tells more about the teacher than about the student.

A fifth is to become bogged down in the mechanics of record-keeping and thus lose sight of the essential purpose of records: to help the student to understand himself and make wise plans on the basis of this knowledge.

The sixth and perhaps the most serious danger is for the counselor to get a fixed idea about the student and his problems from the record, and then directly or subtly try to impose his own solution upon the student. This often happens. Teachers and principals with a tendency to tell and to teach rather than to listen and to learn often feel that they must spend their limited interviewing time in telling the student or the parent exactly what he ought to do. The recipients of this advice usually acquiesce, but fail to put it into practice. This is one reason for

the common comment: "The principal talked to him, but the problem behavior continued."

Evaluation of Cumulative Personnel Records

There is little evidence as to how widely and effectively cumulative records are used. One unpublished report showed that predictions based on a study of all the data on the *American Council Cumulative Record Forms* were superior to predictions based on any other criteria of success in college. Barrett and Markham (4), in a study of the use of records in North Carolina schools, reported an increase of from 58 to 74 per cent in the use of records in the years between 1942 and 1945.

The term *validity* applied to cumulative records refers, first, to whether the record presents conditions as they actually exist. This involves both the validity of separate items and the adequacy of the record as a whole. Second, there is a validity of interpretation, which requires seeing relationships and weighing the contribution of each item to the understanding of the student. Other things being equal, many sources of information, many kinds of information, and many years of experience on the part of the recorder increase the validity of cumulative records.

The evaluation of cumulative records in a school system or single institution requires co-operative study by the staff. From a survey the staff can learn who uses the records and for what purpose, and which items are most frequently used. In the Plainfield, New Jersey, High School, where a survey of this kind was made (18), it was found that the records were used by office workers, parents, counselors, and 45 per cent of the faculty. The items most frequently consulted by the teachers were scholastic aptitude and other objective test results, and teachers' marks. Another survey (23) in the same school over a ten-week period showed that two thirds of the teachers contributed nearly seven hundred anecdotes on 21 per cent of the 1,873 students. Further experimentation with these anecdotal records showed that valuable personality data about students' personality can be abstracted for inclusion in the cumulative record.

Whether or not the potential values of cumulative records are realized depends on the form of the record, the provision of time for keeping it, the accuracy and acumen with which it is filled out, and the psychological insight with which it is interpreted. The value of records also depends on the philosophy of the school or college, and the qualifications of the staff for their guidance responsibilities in general and for the study of the individual in particular.

Further Research Needed

Investigations on records have been of three kinds: descriptions of record systems with little or no evaluation, surveys of the kinds and uses of records in a number of schools and colleges, and experimentation with different forms of records.

Research is needed that will establish a basis for choosing the best record system for a particular situation and for insuring its effective use. This main problem might be attacked in the following ways:

1. By a statistical evaluation of the cumulative record card as a whole and by items, using as criteria scholastic achievement, measures of adjustment, participation in extraclass activities, and students' opinions as to the value of the records to them. The inadequacy of these criteria, however, makes an evaluative study on this basis difficult, if not impossible.
2. By a long-time critical study of the use of certain record forms in selected institutions. The items tried, found wanting, and discarded after a certain period are of especial interest. Surely the personnel worker's thoughtful evaluation of the records he has been using daily over a long period has practical value, even though it may not properly be called research.
3. By applying the results of previous investigations of the items commonly included on existing records. Any facts concerning the meaning of separate items or a combination of them are an aid in interpreting records and in eliminating "deadwood" from them.
4. By studying various forms of records such as the graphic, tabular, and narrative with respect to their accuracy, the time required to keep them, and the ease with which one can glean information from them. A preliminary comparison of the graphic and tabular forms indicated that the necessary information could be recorded and used with less time and effort when put in tabular form. A published example of this type of research is Kornhauser's study of four forms of reference reports or letters of recommendation (25): Form A, which called for a rating of seven traits on a graphic scale with space for additional remarks; Form B, a brief paragraph which asked for an estimate of the student, stating that "specific information concerning personal characteristics and abilities" would be "especially helpful"; Form C, which was similar to Form B but had a much longer introductory statement; and Form D, which asked for "rating of intellectual interest as revealed in school work, and for specific evidence on which the rating" was "based." Form A was superior

to Form B when used among friends and previous employers. Among teachers, Form D was best and Form A next best. There should be more research along this line.

5. By experimentation with different methods of making a record system function. From this type of investigation the answers to the following questions might be obtained: What use can be made of the record cards by those who do not generally use them now? What information should be kept confidential, and who shall have general access to the files? What are the installation and upkeep costs of different record systems? How can the cumulative information in a central office be summarized and passed on to the teachers and counselors who should use it in their work with individuals and groups? How can teachers be taught to gather significant information and to summarize it in an effective way at the end of the semester or school year? How can every person who uses records be taught to take a constructive, professional attitude toward personal data? This type of administrative research is of great practical importance.
6. By studying the time required for obtaining, recording, interpreting, and summarizing different kinds of information.
7. By studying the ways in which cumulative records facilitate counseling in different kinds of situations. A sound recording of an interview in which the counselor had previously studied the cumulative record of the counselee could be analyzed and compared with a recording of one in which he had not studied it. Introspective reports could also be obtained from counselors, describing the ways in which records have aided or hindered them in recognizing, reflecting, and interpreting a counselee's feeling.

Concluding Statement

Personnel records are important only as they contribute to the development and guidance of individuals. They do this not only by giving a picture of the individual's needs, abilities, capacities, and interests at any one time, but also by showing trends in his development—the road by which he has traveled in reaching a certain status. Moreover, the ideal record has a dynamic effect on the curriculum and on the personnel point of view of every person in the institution, including the teacher, the adviser, and the student himself.

An ideal record system might well combine the American Council type of cumulative record folder with a supplementary folder containing detailed observation of the student's behavior, reports of interviews and conferences with him, samples of his work, and other evidences of his development. The entire folder, containing much or little information,

should be summarized periodically to show the student's potentialities, the progress he is making toward their realization, and the best ways to develop them further. This task obviously requires psychological knowledge and skill.

The problem that confronts every personnel worker is to decide how much of this ideal system it is possible and practical to introduce in a particular situation with limited clerical assistance, time, and understanding on the part of staff members. Certainly his own limited time and strength should not be diverted to record keeping, to the neglect of other important functions. In general, the personnel worker should not attempt to keep more elaborate records than he can actually use to aid the best development of students.

CHAPTER VIII

The Case Study

The relations among observation, cumulative or developmental records, the case history, and the case study may be made clearer if we arrange them in a sequence:

Observation—unrecorded

Anecdotal record—recorded

Anecdotal summary—a brief descriptive summary of observations

Rating scale—descriptive items marked on the basis of previous observation

Developmental record card—significant information, mostly quantitative, from many sources

Developmental record folder—more descriptive data

Life history—periodic synthesis of information—a more detailed and descriptive developmental record, focusing attention on developmental sequences, written by someone other than the client

Case study—intensive analysis of the present situation, focused on the aspects that seem to be causing the difficulty in adjustment

The oldest record of a case study has been dated 4000 B.C.—a record of child placement. From that time to the present the technic of the case study has been developed in many fields, notably social case work, medicine, law, psychiatry, and education.

Pedagogical case work has followed a line of development similar to that of social case work. In the beginning, case studies were made only of students manifesting marked problem behavior. The emphasis was remedial. The next stage in development was marked by a fuller appreciation of individual differences and of the complexity of personality. Finally, the case study was recognized as an aid in helping every individual to realize his potentialities.

The case study in personnel work is *not* an end in itself. It is not a collection of interesting gossip and irrelevant details, nor a mere record of observation, test results, and interviews. It is always concerned with human needs. It is made for the purpose of helping persons. Therefore, as Traxler said, "Every case study implies treatment" (87:604).

The Case Study Described

The case study is a synthesis and interpretation of information about a person and his relationship to his environment, collected by means of many technics. If the individual has been parceled out to specialists, the case study attempts to put him together again. At its best, it is a personality picture that becomes clearer and more lifelike as each new item is added. By preserving details that would otherwise be lost or distorted by lapse of time, a case study makes possible a comparison of conflicting evidence or a reinforcement and clarification of initial impressions. Trends, too, are revealed. To accomplish these ends requires psychological insight and critical thinking based on the best available data viewed as a whole. The case study helps the counselor understand the nature and causes of an individual's behavior, personality trends, and difficulties in adjustment. In the dynamic case study, therapy is interwoven with diagnosis.

The case study goes beyond the case history, which systematically traces the individual's development, ideally beginning with direct observation at an early age. The case study leads to case work, which carries out the treatment indicated by the interpretation of case-history data. Thus the cycle of case history, case study, and case work is completed.

UNDERLYING THEORY

For many years the aim of social work has been to help the individual help himself—develop to his fullest capacity in a social group (65, 77, 86). In other words, the self-determination of the client is the supreme goal of the process. This corresponds to the more recent psychological emphasis on self-actualization and self-realization. Social workers have also manifested a deep respect for every individual—for the principle that no one is insignificant, that everyone has strengths and resources within himself.

The focus in social work has shifted from an individual with a problem to "an individual with a certain capacity for a relationship" (82: 136). Robinson in 1939 developed this view of social work: If the case worker can further accept her rôle purposively and intelligently as a dynamic factor of [the client's] environment at the crucial point of his coming for help, this cross-

section may become a growing, changing point out of which a new orientation may develop" (68:143). (Reprinted from *A Changing Psychology in Social Case Work* by Virginia P. Robinson by permission of the University of North Carolina Press. Copyright, 1936, by the University of North Carolina Press.)

The case worker is family centered and community centered rather than client centered; he recognizes keenly the interdependence of people. He sees the client in his "tangled social relationships" and recognizes that no man stands alone. What he is, depends a great deal on his social environment, on persons' expectations of him, on the responsibilities he assumes, and on his success in meeting these varied demands. This is a more highly psychosocial point of view than that of the non-directive counselor, who focuses his attention on the individual in the interview situation, often with too little recognition of his actual living conditions. The case worker tries to understand the dynamic interaction of forces influencing the individual in his life environment, as well as in the counseling relationship.

Social workers have frequently made reference to the art of listening. In fact, five thousand years ago an Egyptian wrote:

If you are in the position of one to whom petitions are made, be courteous and listen to the petitioner's story. Do not stop his words until he has poured out all that he came to say. A man with a grievance loves the official who will accept what he states and let him talk out his troubles fully. A kind word will illuminate his heart, but if an official stops the flow of his words people will say, "Why should that fellow have the power to behave this way?"

Effective case work stems from this sort of philosophy, and is suitable to the family, school, and community setting within which it is practiced.

Forms of Case History and Case Study

CASE HISTORY

Some case histories are little more than expanded cumulative personnel records. The complete case history is comprehensive (56, 80); it is based on clinical experience, and is justified psychologically. Efforts have been made to make it as objective and verifiable as possible (76).

Every counselor should analyze his procedure in order to ascertain the kind of case-history data he needs. Case workers usually seek information of the following kinds:

1. First impressions of the person and his problem.
2. Family history, including information about the emotional relationships in the home and neighborhood—the attitude of the parents to each other and to their children, of the children to the parents, and

of the children toward one another; information concerning the child's play group or lack of companions.

3. Developmental history, including an account of any early experiences that may be influencing the child's present behavior: for example, experiences connected with the conditions of birth, feeding and other routines, speech, walking, illnesses, and shocking or traumatic experiences.
4. School history, including data on the distribution of intelligence and social background in the group as a whole, the individual's achievement in different subjects, his record as to absence and tardiness, special promotions, or other events.
5. Data on the child's present mental ability and achievement (from standardized tests, informal tests, and observation); his habits of work, attitudes, fears, sex habits and information; his interests; his relationships with his peers, with younger children, with adults; his use of leisure, special abilities, personality trends (from observation, personal documents written by students, etc.).
6. Educational and vocational plans; life purposes and goals.
7. Interpretation and synthesis of data, with indications for treatment.

Difficulties in collecting accurate information should be recognized.

In general, women know family history better than men, but both men and women tend to forget conditions leading up to important events in their lives. There is also a tendency for people to answer in the negative questions they do not understand; rarely does a person say, "I don't know." In addition to the inaccuracy of ignorance, the case worker often encounters emotional resistance. This he must try to avoid by establishing a relationship in which resistance is unnecessary. If the case history is too limited in scope, or if it gives a disproportionate emphasis to one type of information, such as family history, to the neglect of other aspects of the person's life, it will not reveal his personality and needs.

The best criterion for judging the content of a case history is the degree to which it suggests sound treatment based upon the needs of the individual.

TRADITIONAL CASE STUDY

The traditional case-study approach has, in practice, been systematic, counselor directed, and primarily diagnostic. In this approach, the counselor collects early in the counseling process the kinds of information that are most likely to give understanding of the individual. He synthesizes this information and uses it to select, direct, and evaluate the treatment.

CLIENT-CENTERED CASE STUDY

In the client-centered approach, the counselor accumulates only the information that the client is ready to give. In its extreme form, this type of case study represents exclusively the client's view of himself, his environment, and the conditions that have made him what he is. Rogers presented this view very clearly when he said:

Instead of elaborate case histories full of information about the person as an object, we would endeavor to develop ways of seeing his situation, his past, and himself, as these objects appear to him. We would try to see with him, rather than to evaluate him (71:367).

According to this view, the important thing is not the person's world as others see it, but as he himself sees it, with all the personal meaning it has to him. This is, indeed, an important part of the case study.

CLIENT-IN-HIS-ENVIRONMENT CASE STUDY

An understanding of the individual's personal world of feeling and meaning, combined with a knowledge of his external world, would seem to give the counselor the best background for helping the individual to adjust to reality. In the modified nondirective approach, case-history data may be obtained by another worker, or the counselor may consult accumulated, recorded information. During the counseling process, other more objective sources of data may be obtained at the request, or at least with the consent, of the counselee. These include observation of the client at work or at play, reports of medical examinations, results of standardized tests, home visits, and interviews with persons who have contact with him.

THE CASE CONFERENCE

The case conference, as defined here, is a group case study. A small group of persons who have been called together, systematically present, synthesize, and interpret from many angles the known facts about an individual. In a school or college setting, the guidance staff, which forms the nucleus of the conference, invites the attendance of teachers and representatives of agencies who have had contact with the case or who may be helpful in supplying information and in making and carrying out recommendations. Fenton stated that the conscientious teacher is likely to spend much more time alone trying to understand and help the student than he would spend in a case conference (22:76).

Those who have held case conferences are enthusiastic about their

value. Fenton believes that a systematic group discussion is valuable for all the children in the school, not primarily for behavior problems or cases of failure in school work (22:77). Holding case conferences for brilliant students or for those with vocational problems, gives the guidance office a positive aura and personnel work a developmental rather than a remedial emphasis. It is one means of making teachers and counselors more student centered. Moreover, no one who attends a comprehensive case conference can fail to realize the interrelationship of physical, intellectual, social, and emotional factors. As teachers become more alert to sequences of behavior, they will detect problems earlier and will thus prevent many of them from becoming serious. Holmer stated that case conferences "are probably much more valuable and important than any other form of mental hygiene education" (38:211).

Some years ago the University High School of Oakland, California, used the case conference for both well-adjusted and maladjusted students. Brown (10) mentioned three values of the case conference: to yield additional information about the student, to reveal problems that need attention, and to translate case-study data into "a constructive program of guidance for the individual." In conferences in which teachers participate, the teacher's change in attitude toward the student is, according to Fenton, worth many times the amount of time and energy which the conference demands (22:76).

In describing the case-conference method, Fenton (22: ch. V) emphasized its importance as a co-operative effort in which attention is focused on the welfare of the child. At the conference the case should be viewed in perspective, and tentative recommendations for counseling or for modifications in the environment should be evolved. These recommendations should be carried out promptly with the co-operation of the parents whenever such co-operation is desirable and possible (22). Both Fenton and Hahn (28) have expressed the opinion that teachers who have close contact with the student should be invited but not compelled to attend his case conference. If they attend, they should feel that their opinion really matters and that their help is appreciated.

Case conferences may be scheduled regularly during the school year as they are in a public school system (88:82-86), or called only once or twice a month. A regular time and a fixed meeting place are desirable.

The case conference is not without its hazards. Persons who have not developed a professional attitude toward personal data are tempted to gossip or to speak in public about the facts they hear in the case conference. This should be avoided. Then, too, the points of view of persons trained in different schools of thought may clash in the case conference. Such opposition should be used to generate light rather than heat.

THE SHORT-CONTACT CASE¹

A short-contact case is one in which the amount of time the counselor spends with the individual is limited by circumstances that prevent their meeting again, by pressure of "a long line of waiting applicants," or by the nature of the problem. In schools and colleges, teachers and counselors have many short contacts. Some last twenty to thirty minutes, many are even shorter.

Examples of short-contact cases. A young man came to the counselor for help in applying for a job. He said, "I'm afraid to talk to employers. I don't know what to say. What shall I do? I've been referred for a job, but I don't know whether I want it, and yet I know I should take it, if it is offered to me." His manner was nervous and excited. He needed counseling at once. Assuming that this was the counselor's only chance to help this student, what could he do in the twenty minutes at his disposal? Actually, the counselor spent the time in role playing—he took the part of the employer and conducted an imaginary interview. This seemed to be the best use of the limited time to help the student meet an immediate, threatening situation.

Another example of a short-contact case was reported in an unpublished paper by Florence M. Errant, a high school health education teacher. In her classes she observed students who needed counseling, but she had only an hour or two to give to them. One student, Edith, a junior in high school, was an only child. She first attracted the attention of the health teacher by her untidy appearance. Her program counselor reported that she was failing in all subjects although her intelligence was better than that of the average college freshman. She had not responded to either persuasion or scolding and could not be roused from her complete lack of interest. In class she made no effort to speak to anyone around her and seemed absorbed in her own thoughts. The contents of her notebook were illegible.

A conference with Edith's mother confirmed the health teacher's impression of a withdrawn, unhappy child. The mother said that Edith remained in her room alone a great deal, often cried herself to sleep, talked very little at table, and did nothing to improve her personal appearance except under pressure. She attributed Edith's apathy to having been blackballed by a sorority. She realized that the girl needed psychiatric help but said that her husband would not consider it. The mother asked the health teacher to have some conferences with Edith.

For the first interview Edith was twenty-five minutes late; she had forgotten to come. The teacher explained that her mother had requested

¹ See pages 107-110 on the short interview.

some conferences, which they could have once a week. The girl used most of the interview time in attempting to explain her failing work, her careless appearance, and her lack of interest. She said she felt alone both at home and at school. At home her parents quarreled; each tried to gain her support against the other. During the eighth and ninth grades, she said, she had had many friends, was popular with boys, and had had a wonderful time. But now that was all over. The health teacher listened, for the most part, indicating acceptance. She made some attempt to interpret Edith's parents to her, and suggested her joining outside clubs. When the sorority situation was mentioned, Edith seemed embarrassed and did not want to talk about it. When the health teacher suggested that it sometimes helps a person to talk about things that are bothering her, Edith told somewhat evasively about not being invited to join the sorority. The worst part of the experience, apparently, was that the girls had dropped her afterward.

In the second conference, which lasted an hour and a half, Edith described a compulsive feeling that made her do things she didn't want to do, such as antagonize her boy friend; she said she would be chatting with her boy friend and suddenly "the thing," as she called this feeling, would come between them. In this interview the health teacher saw clearly that the girl needed more expert help than she could give. The girl's extreme behavior, the family conflicts, the father's opposition to his daughter's having psychiatric help—all indicated to the teacher that the case should be referred.

Short contacts like this make counselors aware of the need for much more numerous, longer, and more skillful interviews with certain students. If counselors could develop effective teacher-counselors who would do most of the developmental guidance, they would save time for the cases that require more than a short contact.

The technic of the short contact. The short contact usually requires greater skill on the part of the counselor than the long series of interviews. There is no time to correct errors. The counselor must be alert to catch clues and keen to observe indications of the client's attitudes from his way of saying things, the order in which he talks about the various factors, and his expressive movements. The more training and experience the counselor has had, the more accurately he will see relationships and probable sequences of behavior. Perhaps the greatest skill of all is required to sense whether any help can be given in the short time available or whether it is best to do nothing under the circumstances.

Essentially, however, the technics of the short contact are similar to those of the longer case: the counselor obtains for his own orientation

available background information before the interview, gives an understanding of the kind of service he can offer, observes the client and his reactions to a friend or relative or to other persons, listens intently while the client talks about the situation and his relation to it, interprets and gives information as the client shows readiness for it, and helps him to plan the next steps in his thinking or action.

Rogers has strongly advocated the nondirective method even in the short contact. He believes a directive technic leaves the client confused and resentful, whereas a well-conducted nondirective short contact may send him away

without, to be sure, any artificial "solution" to his problem, but with his situation more clearly defined in his own mind, with possible choices clarified, and with the comforting reassurance that someone has understood him and, in spite of his problems and attitudes, has been able to accept him (69:172). (Reprinted from *Counseling and Psychotherapy*, by Carl R. Rogers, by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company. Copyright 1942 by Houghton Mifflin Company.)

As in the longer contacts, the counselor uses the relationship as a growth experience for the client. Sargent (75) described the use of the non-directive approach in the single interview. In summary, she said:

It seems extremely doubtful whether growth toward insight can ever be regarded as a liability, or that action instigated from without is ever more effective than in the case of the proverbial horse led to water (75:190).

Social case workers, however, would use methods other than the non-directive and they have a good word to say for the giving of suggestions and information in the short contact. In the short contact especially, diagnosis and treatment go on simultaneously.

Reynolds suggested the use of a "*sample situation* [which] gives the applicant an opportunity to act as he feels and so perhaps to reveal something of himself" (66:20). She also said that there are certain common-sense suggestions—practical things the client can do before an exact diagnosis has been made. For example, a high school girl consciously tried to recognize the other person's point of view instead of immediately making a destructive criticism. Thus she was able to "get the feel" of an experience in which persons would respond to her more favorably. This experience of success in her social relations seemed to help her more than hours of talking. One great value of such positive suggestions is that they make the client feel that he is making progress—really doing something about his problem. In summing up the technic of the short contact, Reynolds stated that counselors should be trained

to a focusing of their attention on the person before them and the situation he presents rather than to a preoccupation with information-getting and theorizing

which are justified more as security devices for the social workers than for any value to the client (66:106).

In the short contact the counselor gives only as much help as the counsellee needs in order to take the next step. He tries to stimulate him to keep on thinking about the problem after the interview, to "mull" over the ideas that have been brought up. Reynolds summed up the values of the short contact as follows:

Case work, then, sees the client in his tangled social relationships, counsels with him so as to stimulate his maximum effort on his own behalf, fills in where his knowledge is lacking, his opportunities are meager and where his courage would fail without a relationship of confidence with an understanding professional person (66:11).

Nonschool situations in which the short contact is employed. The very short contact was used in the Armed Forces for screening purposes: that is, to indicate which cases should be referred to social workers, counselors, and psychiatrists (19, 46, 54). Another use of the short-contact technic is in interviews between students, teachers, and supervisors in institutions for the education of teachers (47).

In the United Services Organization and agencies such as the Travelers Aid, the short contact has been used to give the client an opportunity to view his situation objectively and to orient himself in relation to it. Sensing the worker's understanding attitude, the client responds to it, talks freely, and "listens to his own story from a new point of view and with a new perspective" (93:74). He is encouraged to face his own problem, suggest and evaluate solutions, and test them against his unexpressed wishes.

Values of the short contact. The purposes which the short contact may serve are similar to those already mentioned for the short interview:

1. To give the client relief from the tensions and the pressures of his immediate problem. "Immediate causes of worry must be lessened, security increased" (93:40). "The present and immediate future are the points in time which have the greatest recognized significance to the client" (93:42).
2. To give the client a sense of having someone who understands and shares his problem—to remove his feeling of bearing a solitary burden (43).
3. To "place the problem"—to enable the client to see what is the problem; the extraneous factors that have clouded the issue are removed and he can see the other side of his feelings.
4. To enable the client to look at his problem with a "certain hopefulness and ability to handle it himself" (51:192).

5. To allow the worker to bring to the client new information that he needs in solving his problem.
6. To encourage the client to "talk out his attitudes." There is a full acceptance of the client as he is, no matter what the worker's evaluation of his behavior or social inadequacies may be. Even in the short contact the worker does not go into aspects for which the client is not ready or about which he can do nothing. He does, however, turn as soon as possible to practical considerations.
7. To prevent any dependency by the client on the worker or on the agency. Instead, the client's part is dynamically and positively emphasized with an attitude of expectancy which "makes the relationship a favorable environment in which strengths may emerge" (93:55). Successful handling of a short contact may pave the way for deeper therapy, if it is needed later on. Moreover, by working out some immediate problems, the client gains courage and skill to meet other difficulties as they arise (21).

The short contact is misused when there is no interplay between worker and client; when it is employed primarily because the worker's case load is too heavy to permit more time for each client; when the worker, not adequately trained, replaces sensitivity to the situation by a formula; when the worker attempts too much in a brief contact or attempts to force his decisions upon the client in order to save time (93).

Examples of Case Studies

Case studies vary in length from that of Evangeline—"She met him, she loved him, he wooed her, she kissed him, he died"—to documents 150 pages long. Typical of the comprehensive case study are those made in the Adolescent Study financed by the General Education Board (9) and the studies of Harvard freshmen requiring forty hours of interviewing, testing, and observation (58). One of the Harvard cases is reported in detail in the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* (91). White (90) made a similarly detailed case study of an adolescent crisis in the development of ego structure. The detail in White's article is especially helpful to counselors learning to interpret case-study data.

A number of psychiatric and psychoanalytical studies have been published; for example, a very detailed record of a young man of considerable promise who felt that life had no interest for him (7). An entire book of case studies (13) is valuable in showing concretely the methods employed by various therapists. The role of the psychologist in the process of making a psychiatric case study, using a test battery similar to Rapaport's, was described in a case study of a psychotic ex-soldier (72).

Carpenter (15) reported case studies of adolescent girls of average

intelligence, and Jones (43, 44) used case-study data to clarify principles of adolescent development. A case study of a college girl (62) illustrates the relation of social status to an individual's maladjustment. Incidentally, the subject's responses on the *Thematic Apperception Test* and their interpretation are a feature of this case study.

Detailed case studies of children, recording their hunger for love and recognition and their ways of satisfying this need, were reported by Hamilton (32), Garret (25), and Buxbaum (14).

Thorne (85) presented the case of a persecuted child and showed how the case study helped to uncover causes of maladjustment and to modify behavior and attitudes that had previously led to it.

A case in which individual and group therapy were integrated was reported by Miller and Slavson (55).

Case studies of normal and superior persons are illustrated by the Harvard Psychological Clinic studies (58, 91), by Jenkins' case studies of Negro children with a Binet IQ of 160 or above (41), and by Munroe's careful analysis of the use of three methods—the Rorschach, graphological analysis, and appraisal of spontaneous drawings—as applied to Sally (57). McKinney (52) compared the responses made by 210 college students having emotional problems with those of 208 unselected students. He found similarities between the two groups, but differences also. The unselected group were much more socially oriented; they gave greater evidence of being happy, objective, realistic, well integrated, and effectively motivated.

Descriptions of cases such as teachers are likely to meet in their classrooms are presented in each issue of *Understanding the Child*. References to a few cases in this series are given in the bibliography (4, 60, 63). One case (4) showed how a teacher-therapist helped a boy to recognize and understand "his underlying feelings and conflicting desires." The use of art therapy with a ten-year-old boy, as related to his ego development and sexual enlightenment, was described in another case study (59). A ten-year-old from a highly delinquent neighborhood (64) was helped through spontaneous conversation and through making school adjustments indicated by his need. No regular interviews were scheduled. Through her consistent friendship and positive attitude, the teacher helped him to think of himself as a worth-while person who had both skill with his hands and a friendly, outgoing personality.

Case studies of twins (12) have significance for research on the influence of heredity and environment as well as for the methodology of the case study.

The use of case studies of family life to help parents develop insight into family problems was described by Rice (67).

In a most unusual and valuable piece of research a prognosis made

on the basis of a case study of a girl at the age of fifteen was followed until the subject reached the age of forty (27). It was then found that the conditions which might have led to a mental breakdown had not occurred; the most important conditions predicated as essential to satisfactory adjustment—marriage and children—had been fulfilled.

Case studies written for teaching purposes are valuable: for example, *The Case of Mickey Murphy* and *A Study of Barry Black and Connie Cases* (5). These direct the reader's attention to the completeness and soundness of the information, its interpretation, and the appropriateness of follow-up measures.

Trends in Case Study

The systematic cataloging of facts about the individual is giving way to an emphasis on the importance of the dynamics of his present adjustment. This emphasis has led to greater individualization of the data, and the devoting of more space to the client's present relationships, attitudes, needs, and orientation to his environment; less to background information about grandparents, parents, and childhood experiences (48). Skillful case recording is highly selective.

Another emphasis is that of building on the individual's strengths and on recognizing and utilizing the positive factors in his environment.

The client's own view of the meaning of his behavior (30) is also being emphasized. Rogers (69) has done much to increase the counselor's awareness of the subject's feelings about the situation, and has thus influenced the content of the case study.

Developing a core of case-work skill and knowledge for use in short-time contacts is another trend. Counseling time in secondary schools and colleges has always been limited, and the shortage of case workers during the war has led to increased interest in the short-contact case.

The trend toward introducing experimental situations in the case study is illustrated by the intensive case studies made by workers in the Harvard Psychological Clinic (91). Two diagnostic councils spent many hours interpreting the data as they were collected, and at the end came together to compare and discuss the personality pictures or "realistic synthesis" they had arrived at independently. Four types of experiments were introduced into the case-study procedures to measure behavior under stress. Of especial interest was one to determine the subject's "reactions to experimentally induced failure"—his "frustration-tolerance" for failure and his methods of meeting stress.

The trend in social as well as in educational case work is toward preventing breakdowns by reaching out to normal individuals and families. Instead of being an exceptional service associated with personal

or family disorganization, case work and counseling "can play as vital a role in our life system as education and medicine" (95:111). More case studies are being made of normal students.

Values of the Case Study

The case study has many uses, similar to those already described for the cumulative record (see pages 193-198). Several articles have been written on the use of case-study procedures in guidance (3, 24, 87). As corollaries of its main purpose, which is to reduce, through study of personality trends, the tensions, pressures, and frustrations that are preventing the individual from using his energy to good advantage, the following values may be noted:

1. The case history obtained by the intake interviewer gives a basis for selecting the counselor or agency that can offer the individual the kind of help he needs.
2. The case study made by the counselor serves as a point of departure in each interview. By having this background, the counselor is helped to understand the counsellee, to reflect and interpret his feelings, and to help him make realistic plans. The case study gives continuity to the counseling interviews. In educational guidance the case study calls attention to important characteristics and conditions that may be responsible for the discrepancy between a student's intelligence and his achievement (89).
3. To the counselor contacting an individual for the first time, the case-study data previously collected give valuable initial understanding, provided that the counselor does not impose the impression he has gained from the record upon the client.
4. The comprehensive case study gives the counselor a better understanding of the person and his problems of adjustment (30, 31). The case record of greatest value to the personnel worker resembles the social case record in a number of ways. It is a study of a person in his social setting, not of an individual abstracted from his environment. It should be written to suit the case, not cut according to any one recommended pattern. It should not be limited to descriptive material, but should always select, interpret, and evaluate the facts with a view to doing something about them. In child guidance the use of case-study and testing methods is presented briefly but concretely in a chapter by Symonds (81).
5. The case study may suggest desirable changes that may be made in an individual's environment, often without any personal contact. Much effective guidance in schools and colleges can be done indirectly if the counselor has a picture of the conditions that are influencing a

student's behavior. If an environment conducive to healthy growth could be provided for every student, much serious maladjustment would be avoided. It is difficult to make any suggestions as to avenues of adjustment, for they vary with the individual case. Counselors frequently recommend some modification or change of environment, and it is sometimes the best step. Too often, however, parents send a child away from home with his problems still unsolved, in the vain hope that the new situation in itself will solve them. A change of friends is likewise frequently indicated by a case history. The individual may need friends who will introduce him to new interests, ideals, and satisfactions. Often this is an effective first step.

A process of re-education under sympathetic, intelligent supervision is indicated by other case histories. The assistance of a "Big Brother" or "Big Sister," counselor, or member of the faculty may be enlisted for this purpose. Sometimes the approach must be made to the parents if it is their attitudes toward the student that seem to be causing his difficulty. However, the personnel worker must remember that the parent is not a problem parent because he wants to be. In cases of poor social adjustment, one of the most successful approaches is that of teaching the individual certain necessary social skills such as dancing, popular sports, accepted rules of etiquette, and the technics of getting along with people. These are, in a sense, all environmental modifications that may be suggested by the case study. However, we must recognize that the counselor himself does not know all the answers, as is shown by the diverse interpretations of the same case study. He is often in the dark as to the meaning of complex human behavior and the best path to adjustment for the individual. This is another reason why he would avoid being directive.

6. The student himself may make use of the case study as interpreted by his counselor. It is important for him to understand influences that are affecting his achievement and happiness. His own diagnosis may be right on the whole, but it can usually be improved and reinforced by the use of counseling technics other than the nondirective interview. Although he may gain much understanding through thinking things through himself, he occasionally needs new facts with which to think. This is especially true in educational and vocational guidance. When the student reaches an impasse in his thinking and feels the need of accurate, definite information, it is then that the counselor can helpfully serve as a consultant or resource. He can perform this function without making the student feel that he has lapsed into dependence. In fact, the student has shown a desirable type of

independence in using the resources at hand in order to plan more wisely.

A good plan in the mind of the counselor is not enough to ensure the student's successful adjustment. The student must share in the development of the plan using the counselor as a catalytic agent and a resource. Moreover, as has been emphasized in the chapter on the interview, he must have confidence in the personnel worker. The worker may gain this confidence by convincing the student that he appreciates and understands him. The reputation and personality of the case worker, the problems he has solved in his own life, and his philosophy of life are essential factors in his success.

7. In the training of counselors, detailed case studies serve two purposes: to help counselors understand personality and behavior, and to serve as a basis for their study of the technics of collecting, recording, and interpreting case-history data (73).

The case study is equally useful in the education of teachers-in-training and teachers-in-service. Analysis and discussion of the kind of cases with which they have to deal will increase their understanding of children and adolescents and of ways of helping them grow toward maturity. Making a case study stimulates a teacher's powers of observation and his sensitivity to children's problems and needs, and increases his determination to meet students' needs by means of improved counseling, curriculum, and instruction.

The Case-Study Process

NEED FOR BACKGROUND OF KNOWLEDGE

The personnel worker needs a background of knowledge and experience in order to make a successful case study. The general fields of knowledge which are of greatest usefulness are psychology and sociology. The case worker needs specific knowledge of the problems, interests, and philosophy of youth, the social needs of young people, the psychology of childhood and adolescence, abnormal psychology, environmental forces beneficial to the individual, sociological factors in personal adjustment, the psychology of personality and of learning. Such a background of technical knowledge gives the personnel worker a conviction that the psychic world is law abiding and that conduct is modifiable: if one fulfills certain conditions, he gets certain results. "The mind does not give something for nothing, but it never cheats" (83:248). A fundamental knowledge of psychology also develops in the personnel worker the genetic conception of dealing with difficulties—the conception that no personality problem is static; it has a long history.

If the case worker has a broad background of psychology and sociol-

ogy, he is more likely to avoid bias. He will not tend to seek the cause of maladjustment in any one area—in physical defects or shocks, disease, hereditary nervous instability, lack of development on the intellectual side; in the physical environment; or in companions. He will recognize the multiple causation of maladjustment, the many factors that influence human behavior, the clash of impulses within the individual, the complex of conflicting forces in his environment. All of these exert some influence on the individual. Each enters to a certain degree into every case. But none acts alone. Poverty alone, illness alone, retarded mental development alone—none is sufficient to account for a neurosis. If the personnel worker has a broad theoretical background for his work, he will not emphasize one aspect to the neglect of others.

Nor will he overemphasize any one kind of treatment. Each case is unique. No blueprint can be given. It would be convenient if a ready-made formula for treating different types of cases were available so that one might say, "Here's a case of stealing—well, this is the thing to do about it." But there is no prescribed way of dealing with individuals. Nor is there any substitute for intelligence on the part of a teacher or counselor. Just as it is a mistake to attribute all kinds of difficulties to a single cause, so it is equally erroneous to try to cure all kinds of maladjustment by a single kind of therapy.

In some cases specific action is basic, e.g. to improve the individual's health and the health of the community. In other cases the separation of companions who have a bad influence on each other is the most effective procedure. In still other cases a change of attitude may be brought about by prayer, by suggestions, or by some other means. The mere knowledge that certain symptoms are common is sometimes enough to prevent fear of an abnormal condition. Hydrotherapy and shock therapy appear to benefit some people. In one case, the individual needs sympathy and affection, while in another case unwise use of sympathy may reinforce certain undesirable mental mechanisms. It is obvious that the case worker needs as rich a background of knowledge as possible in order to meet the special needs of each person.

SPECIFIC INFORMATION OF LOCAL SITUATION

To this background knowledge must be added specific information about the local situation: community resources for recreation, reading, education, and social contacts; requirements for graduation and for entrance to higher institutions; vocational opportunities, including part-time employment; available loans and scholarships, co-operating agencies in the school and in the community; and special strains and conflicts in the home, school, or neighborhood.

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

Granted that the personnel worker possesses an adequate background of knowledge for making case studies, he may expedite the process by taking certain steps. These may be indicated by the following questions which he should ask himself, in this order:

1. Am I the best person to handle this case?
2. Is a brief or an extensive treatment indicated?
3. What is the problem as it comes to me? What is the individual's account of the matter?
4. What information is already available?
5. If time is limited, what areas does it seem most important to explore first? If, for example, the apparent problem is failure in school work, the student's previous school record and his scores on intelligence and achievement tests should usually be obtained at once.

Whether or not the case is one which the personnel worker in a particular institution should handle depends upon a number of factors: the age of the individual, the extent to which the conditions causing the difficulty can be modified, the acuteness and completeness of the individual's alienation from constructive factors, the insight he brings to the situation, the duration of the difficulty, and the other facilities available. If the individual is young and not "set in his ways," if he has insight into his problems, if the physical factors can be remedied, the school and home factors altered, and if the personnel worker has the necessary specialized knowledge, he may handle the case successfully.

The personnel worker starts with knowledge already in his possession regarding the individual case. After additional details have been added by means of various technics, he will see gaps in his information which he will seek to fill. His success will depend, to a large extent, on his skill in not appearing inquisitive, in not trying to hurry confidences, and in encouraging the individual and his family to take initiative and responsibility for solving the problem which they clearly identify as theirs.

Concrete and specific evidence of various kinds of behavior is necessary as a basis for making generalizations. For example, in the case of a boy who was making a poor social adjustment, other boys were asked why they disliked him. One said, "He took away my ball." Another said, "He pushes ahead of you and tries to get your place." Specific reactions of this kind show the individual the kind of behavior he should avoid.

In many clinics the staff meets to hear the parent's and the child's versions of the story and then decides whether the case should have short or long treatment. The short case study takes about four hours. In this length of time recommendations are made and the case is dis-

missed. Long case studies involving difficult problems of adolescent adjustment are sometimes carried on for years.

HOW UNDERSTANDING GROWS

In the making of a case study the counselor may gain initial understanding of the person from available records or from his initial interview. In his first contact the worker, first of all, tries to create an atmosphere in which the person feels free to express his real feelings and desires and to reveal his true capacities. The counselor depends a great deal on observation; exploratory observation often reveals significant attitudes and patterns of behavior.

Case work can be greatly improved by continuous insightful understanding and sensitivity during the process. In the client-centered approach, the personality picture emerges as the interviews continue. Rogers gave the following example of the unfolding of understanding in a series of client-centered interviews:

A mother comes to the psychological clinic for help with her two-and-a-half-year-old boy. At first her problem is the boy's fears; when this is accepted, it is his habit-training; when this is reflected, it is the father's attachment to the boy, which is so deep that it makes her jealous; when this is faced, she can admit that she has never wanted the boy; finally, confronting this fact, she can gradually discuss her deeper problem that she is afraid that she is losing the love of her husband (70:279).

Rogers claimed that the counselor gains a deep understanding of a person by listening intently to what he says without the distraction of trying "to decide what question he shall ask next" (70:281). As he listens, he relates what the individual says to his background and needs. He tries to recognize the most significant feelings and ideas and to relate them to the total pattern of mounting understanding.

A girl seventeen years old brought out her major preoccupations in the first interview—her horror of insanity, her fear of the male world, her overconcern with rules of behavior, her low evaluation of herself. She used words as a façade, almost believing them a reality; this kind of talking did not clarify the situation. The counselor could not find out how the girl really regarded her relations with her mother, whether her feeling was fear or fascination, but her extreme anxiety was evident in her manner and in the strange drawings of abnormal persons, which she made. The Rorschach test showed potential abilities not evident in her present behavior.

Explanations of this girl's warped self-concept and immature behavior began to emerge from the interviews with the mother. In these it became clear that the mother had wanted to get rid of the child, that

she was imposing on the girl her own antagonistic attitude toward the male world, and that she was completely dominating her. The mother seemed to have a need to reduce the daughter to abject dependence upon her. As the interviews continued, it became clearer that the counselor could not help the girl except by helping the mother. The possibility of treating the girl in an institution was considered, but she was not ill enough to be accepted in a mental hospital, and she was too old for treatment in a child guidance clinic. Job possibilities were explored with the idea that her skill in technical drawing might be capitalized. The normal instability of adolescence was favorable to effecting changes at this time. As the understanding of the girl in her environment developed further in the case study, it became clearer that there must be concerted action and that the girl must gain economic independence. This seemed to be the only hope of freeing her from a lifetime of subjugation to her mother.

The brief syntheses of case-study data, given in these two pages, are included to show how organic a case study is; it is a growing, unfolding understanding of the individual. In making a case study, the counselor starts with the available cumulative data and with his first impressions. From then on he relates each additional item of information to the personality Gestalt that becomes clearer with each contact. To obtain a dynamic picture, he asks himself: What needs are indicated by the individual's attitude, words, and actions: Asch described this process as follows:

... we form an impression of the entire person. We see a person as consisting not of these and those independent traits (or of the sum of mutually modified traits), but we try to get at the root of the personality. This would involve that the traits are perceived in relation to each other in their proper place within the given personality (2:259).

RECORDING SIGNIFICANT INFORMATION

The counselor may increase the accuracy of case-study data by recording statements during or immediately after the interview, as accurately as possible in the individual's own vernacular, and by checking information obtained from one source by other sources. Inaccuracy creeps into the case study when the interviewer delays writing up the material, or records some of it inaccurately, or misunderstands some of the facts. Sound recording, which is now being widely used, is by far the most satisfactory method for obtaining detailed case-study data.

Discrepancies within a case study may be due to bias, particular interests, or variations in skill on the part of different workers; to changes

that have actually taken place in the student; or to different reactions on his part evoked by different environments and different approaches. It is important to follow up leads suggested by these discrepancies and to try to find out why the individuals have reacted as they did.

There is also the inaccuracy of wrong interpretation. Even direct quotations, valuable as they are in giving insight into attitudes, may convey a slightly different meaning to the personnel worker than the subject intended. Some contributions of importance may be omitted because the worker does not recognize their significance or because they have touched a conflict area in his own thinking.

The difficulty of selecting significant information relevant to the case is intensified by the limitations on the time a personnel worker can devote to case-study work. If he cannot find the time required to make an entirely satisfactory case study, his only recourse is to select those areas which, in his opinion, are most important for study. An intensive study of crucial areas is better than a superficial study of all the areas mentioned in a complete outline for a case history. A large part of the skill in making a case study consists in sensing the significant lines of investigation in a particular case and in working back from the student's present attitudes and tensions to their probable origins. "In an ultimate sense only the trained diagnostician can write a good record, for only he can pluck from the unending web of social experience the thread of probable significance" (31:209).

It is possible for teachers to follow an outline meticulously and at the same time fail to sense the significant facts in the case. Everett (20) emphasized three essentials which the teacher should possess as a basis for study of his students: (1) direct observation of behavior, (2) awareness of the meaning of this behavior, and (3) an ability to give the student the feeling that he is understood and accepted even though his behavior is not acceptable. These abilities are acquired through continuous living and working with persons and through a conscious attempt to observe their behavior and to find out what lies behind it.

When social workers are available, the teacher should work closely with them. Mutual benefit results from such co-operation. The social worker obtains facts regarding the student's school life and secures an effective avenue for carrying out the recommendations indicated by the case study. The teacher acquires an interest in the student as an individual, and finds a knowledge of his personal difficulties and social hazards indispensable in helping him to succeed in school. If the teacher is unable to co-operate, there should be social workers trained in education who can go back to the school and make clear to the teachers the recommendations of the clinic. Incidentally, the greatest contribution of

such workers lies in the in-service education of teachers rather than in their necessarily limited service to individual students.

INTERPRETATION IN CASE STUDY

Students in training for counseling often feel that they have completed a case study when they have merely collected facts and opinions. Piling up evidence from different sources is an aid to, but not a substitute for, interpretation. Apparently it takes experience to build an integrated picture of an individual, as the information about him unfolds. For example, the evidence in the case of a sixteen-year-old boy yields the following portrait: One gets an impression from the interviews of a high verbal ability, a poetic, original, vivid expression of feeling. As the boy continues to talk, his fears come to the surface—fear of ill health, of failure in social situations, and of being aggressive. When his relationship with his mother becomes clearer through interviews with both the mother and the boy, his lack of overt aggressiveness appears to stem from an underlying hostility toward his mother, so intense that he is afraid it will get out of hand if he does not “hold tight.” He seems to be caught in his relationship to his mother, who appears to have exploited him for her own emotional satisfaction and thus made it difficult for him to assume his masculine role. As the contacts with the counselor continue, there is an increase in positive elements in the situation—a friend, summer work, and some changes in his attitudes and behavior. The boy’s relationship with the counselor also enters into the developing case study. In fact, the primary source of the therapeutic gain seems to be the boy’s satisfaction in being treated like a person who can be mature and who thinks of himself as an acceptable person. Indeed, the relationship with the counselor or with some other respected or loved person is often the heart of the case study; the client may modify socially unacceptable behavior in order to maintain this relationship. However, the case study should show whether there is genuine growth in self-direction or merely a “coasting along on transference.” If the relationship is to be an instrument of therapy, it should move toward and into relationships in life situations.

In contrast to the qualitative, insightful analysis of each case as a unique individual, Bevelson (8) recommended a quantitative analysis of case records. From such an analysis it might be possible to derive certain generalizations. However, to attempt to classify persons and their problems into types and to prescribe treatment on the basis of the specific diagnosis indicated seems far less appropriate in the field of psychology than in the field of medicine.

An attempt to “score” case-study data was made by Dollard and

Mowrer (17). They first identified words in the case study that suggested tension and discomfort and relief from tension. Then they computed the ratio of the number of words suggesting tension or discomfort to the number of words indicating both tension and relief from tension. They computed this ratio or quotient for each of thirty-seven pages of a case record and found it to be both consistent, as indicated by a correlation of .81 among eight judges, and valid in the sense of coinciding with actual periods of hope and discouragement in the life of the client. The authors pointed out that this quotient is a summative measure of tension but does not indicate various drives of the client, his family, and his community.

The difficulty in interpreting personal documents and case-history data was clearly brought out by Elkin (18). This investigator submitted a life history written by a delinquent boy to thirty-nine psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, social workers, and laymen. Although they agreed on some of the surface characteristics, they disagreed widely in their interpretation of the origins and springs of behavior and of the adequacy of the person's adjustment.

For inexperienced workers the following questions may be helpful as a guide in the interpretation of case-study data:

1. What other information is needed?
2. What emotional trends are indicated in the whole situation and in the personalities involved?
3. Who are the persons most closely involved in the case? What are their attitudes? What effect do their attitudes seem to be producing in the individual? What are the factors in the parents' attitudes that seem to work against the child most seriously—to cause the most damage? What elements in the parents' backgrounds might account for their attitudes?
4. What elements in the situation make things more difficult for the person?
5. What are the recurring factors, if any?
6. What cause-and-effect relationships are apparent?
7. What mental status is indicated by achievement records, observation, and the results of tests?
8. Is there evidence of unalterable physical defects?
9. Where is the individual getting his satisfactions? What normal satisfactions is he not obtaining? What does he get out of his truancy or other misbehavior?
10. Does the difficulty seem to lie primarily within the individual, or in the environment?
11. What avenues for further education are suggested?

12. What social activities seem to be called for?

13. What vocational paths are indicated?

14. What conditions are likely to lead to good adjustment? To poor adjustment?

Among the factors contributing to maladjustment which are frequently emphasized by case workers are these: economic handicap—poverty in and of itself as a cause of maladjustment; physical handicaps and diseases; mental retardation; racial handicap or any minority-group handicap; broken home and other severe family tensions; parental ignorance, indifference, oversolicitude, excessive domination; physical, mental, or emotional handicaps or chronic illness on the part of members of the family; hereditary constitutional factors; bad companions; conflicting ideologies. These factors may not cause maladjustment, but they tend to do so. The personnel worker should go through the record of the individual's behavior and try to interpret it in light of the factors in the situation and in the individual's development.

The personnel worker should resist the urge to interpret a case from his own "pet" angle. A ready-made label such as "guilt feelings," "inferiority complex," "insufficient mentality," or "poor environment" is too often substituted for a more searching study of the complex causation of a developmental difficulty. There is danger of reading into adolescent behavior too much of adult difficulties and problems. There is a temptation to be distracted by the spectacular and to be misled by a plausible explanation. A student's behavior is not always what it appears to be, and symptoms must not be confused with causes. Another danger lies in attributing too great authenticity to unchecked statements made by parents and teachers. Accordingly, an interpretation must be made in light of all available facts and all possible explanations. The skillful interpreter of case-study data has a constructive imagination which enables him tentatively to go beyond the data in reconstructing the background of the case and in seeing relationships.

Interpretation, as in the case briefly described on pages 224-225, should lead to suggestions for further treatment of the individual himself or of conditions in his environment that are giving rise to or intensifying his maladjustment, or otherwise interfering with his best development.

PLANNING, CARRYING OUT, AND EVALUATING TREATMENT

On the basis of the understanding gained from the case study, the counselor is able to treat the client more wisely, even though the analysis is still largely subjective and intuitive. In some cases, factors of which the person is unconscious are influencing the present; these must be

faced. In other cases, conditions in the present are most important and the person has resources within himself to handle the situation. In still other cases, the person is not able to handle the present without active support and help from the counselor.

The social case worker not only stimulates the person to use the resources within himself; he also takes an active part in supplying knowledge when it is lacking, supplementing meager environmental opportunities, and giving support through the professional relationship. Thus the case study may contribute to the correction of community as well as personal maladjustment. He evaluates the person's response to the treatment and attempts to follow up his adjustment for a period of time after the termination of the contact.

Precautions and Limitations

Psychiatrists have warned against inadequate, amateurish case studies. Dr. Howard of the Massachusetts General Hospital feels that they might intensify emotional conflicts and lead to real neuroses (3).

Allen's emphasis, so well stated in the following quotation, will help the counselor to avoid spending too much time collecting information about the past and neglecting the dynamics of the present:

It is the actual reality of the troubled parent and his disturbed child and not the historical narrative per se which holds the central interest in therapeutic work. The healing values inherent in the present experience in which therapist and patient meet are sidetracked and even lost when we overlook the present and follow only the tortuous and endless task of trying first to evaluate all that has preceded. To understand the present, even though its content may be largely in past terms, is our major therapeutic responsibility, and from that understanding can emerge, actually, a better evaluation of the past (1:56). (Reprinted from *Psychotherapy with Children*, by Frederick H. Allen, by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Copyright 1942 by the publishers.)

Reliability and Validity of Case Material

As with other counseling technics, the reliability of case studies cannot be ascertained by means of the usual statistical devices. The best indication of reliability is the impression one gets of accuracy and psychological authenticity within the case study itself (94:266-67).

The validity of a case study depends on the accuracy of the observations and of their interpretation and synthesis. According to Young: . . . validity is hard to establish in a quantitative manner. But relatively satisfactory validity may be obtained by comparing the verbal responses with overt conduct, by verifying the individual's own story against the accounts of others . . . and by detecting consistencies or inconsistencies between thought, word, and action (94:267).

This view regards behavior in real life situations as the criterion against which the case study is validated. However, there is another kind of reality—the reality of the client's attitudes and feelings—which is equally important and often at variance with life situations. The counselor should recognize both kinds of reality and consider a case study valid if it presents accurately both the client's view of his world and his environment, and his behavior as it is seen by the counselor and by other persons.

Several studies of the reliability or consistency of interpretation of case-study data have been made. Hollis (37) presented six detailed case studies to nineteen case workers from five cities. These workers read the studies and made fundamentally similar interpretations of the cases. Fenton and Wallace (23) asked the persons who had originally classified the cases referred to the California Bureau of Juvenile Research to reclassify a sampling of one hundred cases, using the same criteria as in the original classification. They found the agreement with the first classification to be fairly high. Lazarsfeld and Robinson (45) emphasized the importance of first defining the basis of classification in the form of a continuum. They then analyzed the cases for items relevant to the classification and gave each a numerical value which could be added up to give an exact score or index of the position of each case study on the continuum. Marzolf (53) likewise advocated the use of laboratory experiments and statistical methods to supplement and check the intuitive conclusions of the clinician.

Personnel workers at the University of Minnesota have tried to evaluate case-work methods employed in the treatment of student problems (92). As a result of their study, they have advocated, in student personnel work in college, the systematically structured case study as a basis for the diagnosis prerequisite to counseling (16).

Attempts have been made to evaluate family case work and clinical treatment of disturbed children. Three out of four of the cases seem to have been treated successfully as judged by the workers (33) and by evidence of adjustment in the home, school, and community (42).

Research workers have been interested in the case study as a means of making a prediction. One method of doing this is by quantitative analysis or scoring of the data. Reducing case-data to items in a five-point descriptive rating scale seems to be an unnecessarily cumbersome way of predicting adjustment. However, Hill (36) concluded from his attempt to predict the adjustment of 135 delinquent cases that it is possible to make the case study more valid by standardization. Burgess (11) pointed out that the insight and judgment required to make a prediction by

considering each case in its entirety prevents standardization. He described four types of predictive procedure: (1) intuitive judgment after review of the material; (2) "analysis of the case in all its individuality"; (3) typology of the total case; or (4) a new method of factor analysis (11:330-32). Sarbin (74) found little difference between the accuracy of predictions of college achievement based on clinical case studies and on statistical treatment of nonclinical data. He concluded that "statistical predictions, being more easily determined and at least as accurate, are to be preferred" (74:602). From the standpoint of counseling, however, the case study as a whole gives a much more valuable background for understanding the individual than do the quantitative data alone.

Further Research Needed

There is need for research that will help the personnel worker to understand the significance of the facts which he collects about students. Even specialists frequently attach significance to certain behavior and to certain environmental factors without really knowing the true relationship of these items to the difficulty in adjustment. One way of determining the significance of case-history data is to study the data that have been accumulating in schools, colleges, and guidance clinics. A good deal of work has been done in analyzing case histories with a view to discovering generalizations and relationships. A number of examples of this kind of investigation may be found in the *Smith College Studies in Social Work*. The method, in general, is to select a number of cases according to one common factor, such as failure in school work of a group who are not feeble-minded, or of a group living with one stepparent. The frequency of occurrence of other facts about this group is compared with their frequency in a control group. A less analytical use might be made of these case studies: namely, a synthetic study of the patterns of factors associated with a given problem. By a co-operative arrangement, a large number of cases involving a certain kind of problem might be collected from clinics all over the country. This would facilitate study of the patterns of behavior associated with the problem, and would remove two limitations often found in published studies: the small number of cases and their non-homogeneous sampling with respect of age, sex, and other factors.

Much more research needs to be done on the value of case studies in client-centered counseling. One approach might be to analyze sound-recorded interviews of different kinds to see when case-history data are used or needed. Introspective reports might be obtained from clients as to how they feel about the case-history-taking process.

Concluding Statement

The case study is a growing synthesis of facts and insights about an individual, made for the purpose of helping him to develop his best potentialities. The creative case study is a continuously growing pattern of personality dynamics, not a mere collection of facts. It encompasses the conditions under which the individual lives as well as his inner world of meaning and feeling. From the worker's first impressions of the individual's appearance, speech, and manner and his school and work record, his understanding of the individual grows as the work with him continues. Both counselee and counselor see more clearly the kind of person he is, and perceive the conditions that are favorable and unfavorable to his self-realization.

CHAPTER IX

Therapeutic Methods

According to Jessie Taft,

Therapy is a process in which a person who has been unable to go on with living without more fear or guilt than he is willing or able to bear, somehow gains courage to live again, to face life positively instead of negatively (47:283).

The success of any kind of therapy depends on three conditions: the client's capacity to respond favorably to treatment; the skill of the therapist; and the client's life environment, including the ways in which other persons respond to him.

It is impossible to separate diagnosis from therapy. The choice of tests, the way in which they are administered, the process of interpretation—all influence the counselee's relationship with the counselor and help to shape his idea of himself. Similarly, the writing of an autobiography or any other personal document is part of the psychotherapeutic process (25). The interpretation of case-study data also has possibilities in so far as it helps the individual to gain a more positive orientation. Rheingold (40) illustrated this point in his description of methods of interpreting to parents the mental retardation of their children.

Environmental Therapy

Environmental or milieu therapy is the process of helping a person "to face life positively" by creating a more favorable environment for him—giving him opportunities in which he can discover for himself that the world is not entirely hostile and that he can handle life situations successfully. Such experiences are important in the development and adjustment of the high school and college student. Everyone connected

with an institution may make a contribution to this positive development of personality. By considerateness, friendliness, and understanding each may make a difference in the daily life of the student. They all help to create an atmosphere which fosters students' growth toward maturity. In short, the school or college environment itself is an instrument of therapy.

One step toward creating such a favorable environment is to provide each student with the experiences he needs—suitable courses, work and physical activities, opportunities to be of service, to take responsibility, to make choices. For example, a teacher who takes a friendly personal interest in a student may give him an opportunity to develop and use some special talent, may modify his program or assignments so that he can succeed in them, or may suggest to a chairman that the student has some ability that the committee needs. Frequently a withdrawing student learns to relate himself to others in a small congenial committee. There are many other modifications of environment, such as a change in the attitude or behavior of parents or fellow students, that may help a student to make a good adjustment.

Therapeutic experiences should be graded to fit the individual: first the simpler activities for which the student is ready and which he is able to handle; then progressively more demanding activities, as the student grows in ability to cope with them. Thus through a variety of suitable experiences, the student may discover for himself what he can do and what he cannot do; what gives him satisfaction and what results in dissatisfaction. If, for some reason, a student cannot find in his home, school, or community the conditions needed for his optimum growth, individual or group psychotherapy is necessary.

Research on the effects of therapy has been inconclusive because of small numbers of cases, difficulty in defining and measuring success, and failure to describe in detail the therapeutic process (38). In appraising therapy, any progress toward a more personally satisfying and socially acceptable adjustment is considered evidence of success.

Group Psychotherapy

Group psychotherapy enables individuals to work out their relationships and problems in a realistic atmosphere of social interaction. The group supplies a field in which an individual may relate himself to others. In groups, students have the opportunity to bring common problems out into the open, to relieve tension about them, and to develop perspective. The individual comes to realize that everyone has some strong and some weak points.

Group therapy not only saves the psychiatrist's time; it also has values

that individual therapy lacks: that feeling of belonging and status which comes from being an accepted member of a group, the reassurance of knowing that others are struggling with the same problems, the perception that failure is a part of development, relief from anxiety, and the release of feelings of aggression (15, 24).

Group therapy facilitates individual therapy. Group discussion may pave the way for personal conferences as individuals establish a good relationship with the leader, recognize their need for individual help, and realize that going to the counselor is a sensible thing to do, not a sign that something is wrong with one.

Fleming and Snyder (8) found that measurable changes in social and personal adjustment did take place in nondirective play therapy in a group situation. Girls responded better than boys for a number of possible reasons: their ability to establish a better relation with a woman therapist, the fact that they had more satisfactory group relations in their everyday life. "Water, paints, and nursing bottles were the most important media for expression of feelings" (8:116). Another experiment in nondirective play therapy (27) showed that the greatest release of feeling occurred through action rather than through verbalization.

Three experiments in group therapy with adolescent girls (2, 13, 49) gave evidence that girls who were initially unsocial and maladjusted made a marked improvement during extended periods of group therapy. Another experimental study of social adjustment oriented to education rather than to psychiatry (19) showed that a group of college freshmen who had been relatively inactive in student activities became more active in college life than did the control group, which had not had stimulation and practical suggestions from members of the staff. Both groups, however, increased equally in social adjustment.

Moreover, the therapist may gain clues from the group session that can be followed up in personal interviews. Miller and Slavson (35) used group therapy to complement case-work treatment. In the individual contacts one boy expressed his unhappiness about his lack of friends; in the group-therapy sessions he obtained the social re-education he needed in order to relate himself to others.

Slavson (43, 44) makes a definite distinction between group therapy and group work; others do not. It is difficult to draw a sharp dividing line between the two; work with normal persons, oriented to education, merges imperceptibly with work with seriously disturbed patients, oriented to psychiatry. There is probably a middle ground between the two extremes, in which workers who do not have a psychiatric or clinical background but who have studied group-therapy methods can help people make a better adjustment to life.

In a therapeutic group, the members help one another. Sometimes they go beyond the areas with which the therapist intended to deal. Guiding the interaction among members of the group is the therapist's most difficult task.

THEORETICAL BASIS

Skillfully conducted group therapy releases growth processes within the individual that have previously been blocked. Thus it contributes to normal development. The aims of group therapy may best be accomplished by giving persons the opportunity to express their feelings and to gain insight into the motives and mechanisms of their behavior through play, other activity, or discussion in a group. Some persons seem able to do this in a group more freely and with less resistance than in a face-to-face relationship with a counselor or psychiatrist. The presence of others who have similar feelings gives them support and encouragement. Moreover, the solutions that other members of the group have worked out may suggest ways in which an individual may solve his problems. "Treatment was not merely *in* a group or *of* a group, but *by* the group, and, of course, *for* the group" (9:49). Persons who say little to an interviewer may express their feelings vehemently in group sessions (50:737). In the group the therapist has opportunity to observe the individual's relations with other persons. Thus group therapy enables him to see more clearly than in a personal interview how the individual's inner conflicts are actually affecting his social behavior and how he tries to overcome his difficulties.

FORMS OF GROUP THERAPY

Group therapy takes many forms. In addition to play therapy, described in a previous chapter, and activity group therapy—making and doing things together—such as Slavson (43, 44) and others have described, a verbal group therapy—"talking it out" in groups—came into prominence during World War II. Under this latter classification are group lectures and discussions for adults perplexed by emotional problems. This kind of group provides for little individualization, and, as therapy, is superficial. According to Harms, it "may show momentary results based upon a powerful suggestive element, but this is never identical with a definite cure or recovery" (17:187). An example of this form of group therapy is the series of lectures about the mechanisms of adjustment given by a psychiatrist in the military service. There is little experimental evidence of the value of this sort of activity, although in one discussion group which concerned itself with questions submitted

anonymously, 60 per cent of the patients thought they had improved as a result of the sessions (11).

More individualization was achieved with patients suffering from various mental disorders through interviews conducted in a group. Verbatim records of these interviews were taken (31). Treatment of mothers in groups as a supplement to child psychotherapy is another form of group therapy that might well be carried on more extensively. The value of this procedure in child development was described in detail by Fries (12). This combination of both free and directed play with the children and simultaneous work with the mothers was reported to yield increased understanding of the child's family relationships, as well as suggestions as to the next steps to be taken in his treatment.

Another group method aims to develop the members' recognition of their inner conflicts through free association and by the discussion of problems spontaneously brought up by the group with the therapist playing an accepting, nondirective role (6, 15).

Of three forms of group therapy—(1) lectures followed by the free discussion of personal problems in one-hour sessions, (2) lectures followed by small group discussions on the topics presented in the lectures, and (3) small groups conducted in a nondirective manner—none seemed to bring about satisfactory immediate adjustment (41). It is possible, however, that insights gained in the group may prove to be beneficial in the long run (41:664). In a study of hospital patients which employed a more adequate method for evaluating the results of group therapy, Luchins (32) obtained the best results from the large group lecture and discussion period, followed by small group discussions of from thirty to forty minutes on the content of the lecture as applied to personal problems. He found that a course in which patients described and discussed their symptoms had little value. The nondirected program was still less successful—the members passed from griping to boredom to inattention or rebellion. After five of these sessions, the leader had to go back to the lecture-discussion method. Luchins attributed the failure of the non-directed procedure to lack of group cohesion. In comparing those who had participated in group therapy with the nonparticipants, Luchins found that, on the whole, the participants gave more information in the individual interview, co-operated better on the wards, requested more books, were more friendly with others, and engaged more in discussions and joint activities.

Group counseling is still another form of work with groups. Each member of a group with somewhat similar vocational guidance problems thinks through his vocational plans in turn. The others make comments and give suggestions. They often discover that they have certain prob-

lems in common, for example, parental domination of their vocational choice. The group conference method of vocational guidance was outlined by Metcalf (34) and evaluated by means of students' and parents' reactions.

The kind and method of group therapy should vary with the age level (44). Play therapy seems to be more appropriate for young children, activity therapy for preadolescents and young adolescents, and verbal group therapy for older adolescents and adults.

PROCEDURES

The therapist's relation to the group has much in common with the counselor's relation with the client. He never dominates. He accepts each member of the group, eases tensions, knits the group together in a common objective, reflects feelings, offers some interpretation, and keeps the channels of communication open among the members and between himself and each member. This attitude on the part of the therapist increases the members' confidence in their own ability to accept the responsibility of facing their anxieties and solving their own problems (5). The insights that they gain carry conviction because they themselves have developed them. The patient gains "a true emotional understanding verified through his own life experiences and . . . not a theoretical concept accepted passively and superficially" (41:664).

Horwitz (20) illustrated the difference in results when the therapist facilitates the process as described above and when he does nothing more than permit the members to act out their fantasies and release their emotion. The latter procedure may be detrimental to one or more of the members and does not constitute therapy. If the therapist focuses the child's attention on the activity rather than on the free expression of feeling, the child may avoid emotional expression by retreating into the play activity. If this happens, the session becomes a play period instead of a therapy period.

With respect to the composition of the group, there is a difference of opinion. Some therapists think that differences in personality stimulate therapy, while others believe the group should be fairly homogeneous. The selection of the members of the group is important (39). Cohen (5) found that the groups that responded best to treatment contained one or two aggressive persons, plus a few respected, mature, and stable persons who were on the road to recovery; the remainder were depressed and anxious patients.

Mentally dull and extremely depressed patients seemed unsuitable for group therapy (6:82). Margolis (33) found that, among thirty boys who had proved to be inaccessible to case-work treatment, those with "psy-

choneurosis," "character disorders," "primary behavior disorders," and "neurotic traits" responded well to activity group therapy, whereas those with "pre-odipal behavior disorders," "psychopathic personalities," and "prepsychotic disturbances" responded poorly. Other factors found to be associated with the success or failure of activity group therapy were punitive parents, previously inadequate social contacts, and "introverted submissive" personality traits. For children four to twelve years of age Gibbs (14) found group play therapy suitable in the treatment of certain educational problems, cases of slightly generalized anxiety, and behavior disorders arising from home or school repression of the child's free fantasy.

Small groups of five to ten members are recommended. This gives opportunity for active participation by each member.

AIMS AND VALUES

At a minimum, group therapy occupies a patient's time so that he has less time for brooding and complaining. A more positive value is to restore the person's self-confidence and ability to do useful work by increasing his tolerance for the strains of everyday life (43). Group therapy may be viewed as "an expression of a new attitude toward the study and improvement of human interrelations in our time" (9:51). It may be applied to whole communities as well as to small groups.

Group therapy has social value to the individual. By working in groups, one experiences give-and-take relationships. The self-centered individual finds his attention directed toward other persons' problems. The comments of the other members of the group stimulate his thinking. With the help of the therapist, he will begin to take some part in the discussion. The group experience may free him to think through his problem more effectively in the face-to-face relationship (32:174). Being in the group decreases his feeling of being alone. It improves his social relations by helping him to understand other persons as well as himself. In brief, group therapy satisfies four basic needs: (1) the need for acceptance (love), (2) the need for ego satisfaction, (3) the need for creative activity, and (4) the need for social re-education (35).

VALIDITY

It is difficult to appraise therapeutic effects because there are so many uncontrollable variables. Most of the attempts to evaluate group therapy may be criticized for depending largely on general impressions, for not describing in detail the process that produced the results, and for being content with immediate instead of long-term adjustment. Among the best descriptions of group therapy with older age groups and of the most

satisfactory attempts to evaluate it are those reported by Baruch (4), by Cohen (5), by Friedman and Gerhardt (11), and by Sarlin and Berezin (41).

The following factors are necessary for an experimental evaluation:

1. Detailed descriptions, preferably based on sound recordings of the group-therapy process.
2. Matched groups, each of which has engaged in a different form of therapy.
3. Control group, which has received no psychotherapy.
4. Matched group, whose members have received individual therapy (32:173).

Psychodrama, Sociodrama, and Sociometry

These technics go beyond the counselor-counsee relationship; they are concerned with the interaction of persons in groups. In a sense, the role-playing technics of psychodrama and sociodrama lie somewhere between the personal interview and real life group experiences.

PSYCHODRAMA

The psychodrama is a technic in which the patient spontaneously acts out his inner conflicts on a stage with the aid of "auxiliary egos" (trained persons who stand by ready to assist him), a director, and at times a participating audience. Spontaneity is the keynote. By anticipating situations in which emotional conflict is likely to arise, the psychodrama helps individuals to cope with real life problems. For example, a patient at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington

acted a scene in a taxicab leaving the hospital. The auxiliary ego as a taxi driver asked the usual disarming questions. The patient had to meet this situation on the stage. A few hours later, with his discharge papers in hand, he hailed a cab near the hospital grounds and had a real-life experience with an inquisitive taxi driver that paralleled the psychodramatic scene (10:169).

The psychodrama is oriented to psychiatry and should be carried on only under the supervision of a psychiatrist.

The psychodrama has five important components: (1) the stage, which provides an objective setting for extending life beyond the confines of reality; (2) the person who is "asked to be himself on the stage" and to act as he would in a real situation; (3) the director who helps the person select and warm up to the situation to be enacted; his function is also to stimulate and interpret; (4) the auxiliary egos who serve as protagonists and support the person when he needs help in meeting the situation; and (5) the audience, if there is one, which may participate by making

suggestions, and which profits by observing how other persons deal with problems somewhat similar to their own (36). In pantomime form the psychodrama may be used with persons who do not talk readily.

The theory underlying the psychodrama is that spontaneous acting out of a problem situation releases tension, helps both client and therapist to gain insight into the relationships involved, and gives the client opportunity to try out practical ways of handling the life situation more adequately. For example, Haas (16) described a sociodrama in which a boy who had spent on himself the nine dollars his mother had given him to buy something for her, played the part of the mother. In doing so, he both revealed and clarified his attitude toward her. Lawlor reported an instance in which the client learned through the psychodrama that her vigorous expressions of opinion antagonized certain people (28). If a client is persistently nonco-operative, the auxiliary ego may play his part, showing him how he appears to other persons.

The psychodrama has been called by Moreno "self-directive counseling." The director relies upon the spontaneity of the client.

Both Rogers' techniques [nondirective] and psychodramatic procedures are concerned with providing a permissive atmosphere for the client in which he may explore his problem and reach insights and solutions for himself. Not generally understood, perhaps, is the fact that psychodrama may progress either directly (indirectly, through the auxiliary ego) or nondirectively, depending upon the degree to which the therapist wishes to structure the counseling situation (18:80).

The psychodrama has been used most intensively in mental hospitals. Moreno (37) studied the use of psychodramatic technics with thirty-three mental cases. By providing

the patients with an environment in which their egos could expand and in which they could express their delusions and hallucinations to an extent which would have been impossible in an ordinary therapeutic situation . . . we were in a position to arrest further deterioration into the psychoses and, in 25 cases, to guide patients into relationships which were better suited to a life outside the institution (37:17).

By approaching gradually and repeatedly in the psychodrama the personal situation that originally caused emotional disturbance, the patient begins to perceive it with less anxiety or fear—as a situation he no longer needs to fear because he has learned how to handle it (7). The psychodrama introduces a reality element into psychiatric treatment. The claim has been made that it yields "greater therapeutic effect from the amount of time spent" than other methods.

The application of the psychodramatic technic has been widely extended—to the treatment of stuttering and other speech handicaps, to premarital and postmarital counseling, and to therapy for alcoholics.

Some attempts have been made to take psychodrama out of its psychiatrically controlled setting and into the home, the classroom, and the training school. A modified form has been used by a mother to train her two small children in the technic of daily living (30). In sessions of thirty minutes a day, stemming from the children's daily experiences, she was able to help them (1) overcome or greatly lessen a deep-set fear, (2) overcome an emotional block of long duration, (3) improve their technics of social relations, (4) achieve understanding and acceptance of the physical abnormalities in other children, (5) learn to meet daily frustrations, (6) prepare for a new experience.

Claims for the validity of the psychodrama have been too little supported by scientific evaluation. The number of cases is small and the sampling is often haphazard or clearly atypical. The articles, for the most part, are descriptive and theoretical rather than experimental. Moreover, there have been few follow-up reports to show the long-range effectiveness of the technic. Snyder characterized Moreno's work as "unscientific and intuitive in approach. Practically none of his articles attempts to evaluate the outcome of therapy in terms of criteria other than the therapist's observations of what he believes to be a change" (45:333). Yet the method of the psychodrama is widely recognized as a promising method of helping individuals work out their unique emotional and social problems.

SOCIODRAMA

It is difficult to distinguish between the psychiatric psychodrama and the educational sociodrama, or role playing in groups. One distinction is that the psychodrama deals with problems of a deeply personal nature whereas the sociodrama deals with collective problems or situations that are common to members of the group. The two technics have many values in common. Both help the individual to "feel with" other persons. This is especially true when roles are reversed, as when an applicant for a job plays the role of the employer or a child plays the role of the parent. Both technics help a person to perceive situations in a more favorable light. The sociodrama is often preventive in its emphasis. For example, the sociodrama may be used to help an individual to prepare for a coming event such as going on a journey, entering a new school, attending his first dance, interviewing an employer—in short, any situation that may arouse fear or anxiety. This is sound psychology; it is well known that knowledge of how to meet a situation helps to drive out fear. The

sociodrama has also proved valuable in the training of counselors, group leaders, and teachers (3, 23).

The sociodrama may be introduced into group therapy. Horwitz (20) found this technic valuable when children's spontaneous dramatizations were skillfully handled by the therapist.

Interpretation of the sociodrama presents problems somewhat similar to those offered by other projective technics and by the autobiography. It is difficult, for example, to know how much of the sociodrama is re-productive and how much is productive, i.e., how much is a reflection of something the participants have seen or heard or read, and how much is their own original thinking about the given situation.

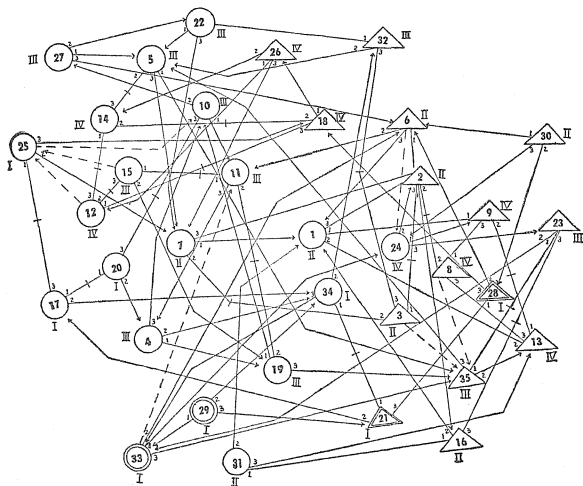
SOCIOMETRY

The nebulous discussion of group interaction has been brought down to earth by the sociometric technic, a method of ascertaining natural groupings and patterns of association among the members of a group. The method is simple: each person is asked to choose the person with whom he would like to be associated on a committee, at a dining room table, in a homeroom, a recreation group, or some other situation for which a group is actually being formed or for which the present grouping is being changed. In some situations the persons are also asked to name the persons with whom they would not like to be grouped. This should be done tactfully. A diagram of these choices, showing the lines of attraction and rejection, is called a sociogram. A procedure for getting choices to be used in forming homeroom groups will illustrate the method:

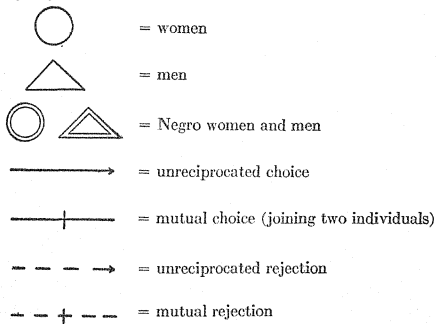
What other boys or girls do you want to be in the *same* homeroom with you next semester? You may give three choices, naming the boy or girl you *most* want to be grouped with as your first choice, then the one you want as second choice, and as third choice. It's hard to arrange room enrollment for all choices by each person, but everyone will have at least one of his choices. We should keep our choices confidential because some people will be choosing you whom you may not have chosen since you had only three choices (23:41).

Jennings emphasizes the following criteria:

1. "The situation should be *real*. . . . Choices are not hypothetical."
2. The results are used in making "arrangements for working or living."
3. "There is an *immediacy* to the choosing: it is for *right now*" (23:41).
4. The invitation to choose is presented concretely so that the students know exactly what choices are to be made, the reasons for them, and the use to which they will be put. After the choices have been made, groups are formed in which every individual is given some of his choices, his first choice whenever possible.



Legend for Sociogram:



Large Arabic number in circle or triangle = code number for individual.

Small Arabic number outlines = degree of choice, first, second, or third.

Roman numerals = the group to which individual was assigned on the basis of the choice question.

Jennings cautioned against generalizing from a single sociogram. It should always be considered in relation to the time it was taken and should benefit the persons involved. "The sociometric test should primarily meet the felt needs of the members and not a research need of someone studying their interactions" (23:42).

The sociometric technic furthers effective group work in a number of ways. The influence of a group on the personal development of its members is likely to be more beneficial when the members like one another. They will then speak and act more spontaneously, and they will be more likely to carry out activities successfully. The sociogram enables the group director to gain in one glance an overall view of the interpersonal structure with reference to the situation described.

Steps in Making a Sociometric Study in a Class of Graduate Students¹

1. *Making the choices.* Leader says, "You will want to study situations that have offered difficulty professionally and which you would like to see analyzed in sociodrama. Choose the persons with whom you think you could do your best role-playing in these situations. Put your own name in upper left corner of the paper and number 1, 2, 3 below it. Opposite 1 write the name of the person whom you would most like to be grouped with for this purpose. Opposite 2, give your second choice, and 3, your third choice. Then draw a line under your three choices. Sometimes there are persons with whom you might find it difficult to take part in sociodramas or who, you think, may feel this way about you. If there are any such persons, write their names in 1, 2, and 3 order." These choice slips are then collected and the leader proceeds as follows:

2. Arrange the choice slips alphabetically, according to names of persons making the choices.

3. Write with a colored pencil on each person's slip all the choices (on right side) and the rejections (left side) he has received from other members of the group. To indicate mutual choices, draw a line out from the names mutually chosen.

4. Sort the slips into several piles—those receiving most choices in one pile; average, in another; and least, in a third pile. This facilitates the drawing of the sociogram.

5. On a large stiff piece of paper, place toward the center the individuals who are recipients of large numbers of choices. Use circles to symbolize women, and triangles to symbolize men. Be careful to place all

¹ The author is indebted to Dr. Helen Jennings for the sociogram on page 245 and discussion of it. For more detail on the sociometric technic, see the excellent recent monograph by Helen Jennings, *Sociometry in Group Relations*. (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1948.)

the symbols a little off the horizontal or vertical axes so that lines can be drawn directly without making many detours. A line should never cut through one symbol to reach another symbol. The main object of the sociogram is to make the interrelational pattern clear and visible. To achieve this end, draw each line as directly as possible between chooser and recipient of choice, even though it is necessary to make an elbow in certain lines.

After drawing the circles and triangles for the most chosen individuals, add those with whom they have mutual choices. Then toward the edge of the sociogram place those who are least chosen, each one as near as possible to some of the individuals whom they have chosen.

In forming groups on the basis of the sociogram, vary the size of the groups, if necessary, to give all members opportunity to work with individuals they have chosen. For example, in a group of thirty-five persons, a sociometric choice arrangement may be divided into three groups of eight and one of eleven. If the sociogram shows a different choice pattern, then groups of different sizes may be formed. The important objective to achieve is not groups of uniform size, but a "natural" grouping in which each individual has been given the highest choice possible within the situation. This is done by giving as many as possible their first choice, mutual choices, and as many more of each person's choices as can be assigned, at the same time making like provision for all other members of the group. Thus every person has opportunity to be with some persons of his choices. In the case of a person whom many have chosen, it may be necessary to give him fewer of his choices in order to satisfy the greatest number of individuals. This is justified on the assumption that the much chosen individual has already learned to relate himself to other persons and would be able to adjust easily to the new group.

Occasionally an individual may be absent on the day on which the choice slips were made, and the director may have to place him in groups before he has made his choice. This was done in the case of No. 33 in the sociogram on p. 245.

Concluding Statement

Life itself is an important therapeutic agent. Many a person has pulled through a difficult period as a result of the therapeutic effect of work, love, and religion. The counselor can use these vital forces in the counseling process; this has been described as environmental therapy. One step removed from the use of the environment as an instrument of therapy are the play, activity, and discussion groups. Further from real life situations is the sociodrama, in which persons play the roles as they

might be enacted in life. The group role-playing technic enables individuals to experience and experiment with human relationships. The aim is to make these relationships more individually satisfying and socially acceptable. Still further away from real life is the psychodrama, a modified form of psychiatric interview in which the patient directs his attention concretely and realistically to his personal problems of adjustment in real life. Although the therapeutic value of these group technics has been emphasized, they also have diagnostic value.

In all the technics and methods described in this volume the importance of relationships and understanding has been emphasized. The shift in philosophy from appraisal to understanding and from counselor to client influences the use of counseling methods. This shift in vantage point makes the observation and rating of traits less important than the more analytic study of behavior and its causes. It makes survey tests less useful than diagnostic tests. It makes case studies a means to an end, not an end in themselves. The emphasis on understanding tends to make interviewing more client centered and the atmosphere of group work more permissive and creative. Counseling and group work each becomes an experience in self-direction, valuable in and for itself.

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Chapter VI

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